Iōannēs M. Phountoulēs

Answers to Liturgical Questions

Volume Three

Answers to Liturgical Questions

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Volume 3

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CONTENTS

Abbreviations vi
Translation of the Original Title Page xi
Prologue to the First Edition xiii
Questions and Answers 1

Abbreviations

AASS—*Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur* (Antwerp: 1643).

ANF—A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Fathers Down to 325 A.D.*, 10 vols. (1885–1887; Repr., Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1989).

BDAG—Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Benešević—Vladimir Benešević, "Отвѣты Петра Хартофилакса," Записки императорской академии наукъ, vol. VIII no. 14 St. Petersburg 1909.

Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins*—René Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie VIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966).

Cambridge—J. Diggle, B. L. Fraser, P. James, O. B. Simkin, A. A. Thompson, S. J. Westripp, eds., *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

CPG—Maurice Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987).

Dēmētrakos—Δημήτριος Δημητράκος, ed., *Μέγα λεξικὸν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 15 vols (Ἀθῆναι: ἐκδόσεις Δόμη, 1964).

DOP—*Dumbarton Oaks Papers.*

Galadza—Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

GCS—*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.*

Goar, Εὐχολόγιον—J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Græcorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinæ Liturgiæ, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum, etc. cuilibet personae, statui vel tempori congruos, juxta usum Orientalis Ecclesiae... editio secunda expurgata, et accuratior* (Venice: Bartholomew Javarina, 1730).

Lampe—G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Larin—Vassa Larin, *The Byzantine Hierarchical Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Proskinitawrij*, OCA 286 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 2010).

LBG—Erich Trapp, ed., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik VI/1-8 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994–2017).

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LSJ—Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with revised supplement (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

Mansi—Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio.*

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NETS—Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

OCA—Orientalia Christiana Analecta.

OCD—Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).

OCP—*Orientalia Christiana Periodica.*

ODB—Alexander P. Kazhdan et al, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* 3 vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*—Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

PG—J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca,* 161 vols. in 166 pts. (Paris: 1857–1866).

RSV—Revised Standard Version.

Rhallēs and Potlēs—Γ.Α. Ῥάλλης καὶ Μ. Ποτλῆς, *Σύνταγμα θείων καὶ ἱερῶν Κανόνων τῶν τε Ἁγίων καὶ Πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν Συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος Ἁγίων Πατέρων,* 6 vols. (Ἀθῆναι: Γ. Χαρτοφύλαξ, 1852–1859).

SC—Sources Chrétiennes.

Simmons, *St. Symeon*—Harry L.N. Simmons, trans., *St. Symeon of Thessalonike, Treatise on Prayer* (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984).

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Tolika—Ὀλυμπία Τολικά, *Ἐπίτομο Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸ Λεξικὸ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς* (Ἀθῆναι: Εὐρωπαϊκὸ Κέντρο Τέχνης, 1993).

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Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Χρηστοήθεια τῶν χριστιανῶν*—Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Χρηστοήθεια τῶν χριστιανῶν: Περιέχουσα Λόγους ψυχωφελεστάτους δεκατρεῖς, ῥυθμίζοντας ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τὰ κακὰ ἤθη τῶν Χριστιανῶν. Πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τὰς κυριωτέρας Ἐντολὰς τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ Νέας Διαθήκης* (*Morality for Christians: Containing thirteen Orations profiting the soul, which educate to improve the bad morals of Christians. And in addition, also the authoritative Commandments of the Old and New Testaments*) (Venice: Ἐν τῇ Τυπογραφίᾳ Νικολάου Γλυκὺ τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, 1803).

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ΜΕΕ—Παῦλος Δρανδάκης, ed., *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 24 vols. (Ἀθῆναι: Πυρσός, 1927–1934).

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IŌANNĒS M. PHOUNTOULĒS

ANSWERS TO LITURGICAL QUESTIONS

Volume 3

301–400

4th Edition

IN MEMORY OF
THE TEACHERS
PANAGIOTĒS TREMPELAS
AND ATHANASIOS FRANGOPOULOS

Prologue to the First Edition

With the help of God, the fourth set of one hundred *Answers to Liturgical Questions* (301–400) was completed. These were published in the periodical Ὁ Ἐφημέριος during the last five years (March 1976 – March 1982) and are already being republished with the necessary corrections and augmentations.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of two revered men, the lay theologians of blessed memory, Panagiōtēs Trempelas (+November 18, 1977) and Athanasios Frangopoulos (+June 29, 1977), who fell asleep in the Lord during the period of time these answers were being composed. A fervent love for divine worship distinguished both of these men.

The first wrote profound academic liturgical studies and published massive liturgical volumes. He taught liturgics for nearly twenty years at the Theological School of the University of Athens and contributed more than anyone else to the understanding of divine worship and to the revitalization of the liturgical mindset in our Church during these more recent years. The writer is proud in the Lord that he studied at his feet.

The second man directed his love for divine worship to the people of God with his inspired teachings that are published in his many homiletical works. He is the one who incarnates par excellence the liturgical sermon in our time.

Both men followed step-by-step the course of the composition of these answers from the publication of the very first one in 1965 up until the time of their deaths. From their encouraging words and their spiritual support, the writer received the boldness to continue such a difficult and responsible work for so many years.

May their memory be eternal!

Ph.

Questions and Answers

301

The exclamations in the Great Vespers: "For to you are due all glory . . . ,"[1] "For yours is the dominion . . . ,"[2] "For you are a merciful God who loves humankind . . . ,"[3] "For you are a good God who loves humankind . . . ,"[4] how are they connected? What do they constitute?

As it is well known, the exclamations are doxological conclusions for prayers that are recited "in an exclamatory manner"[5] and intoned, regardless of whether the prayers they conclude are said "inaudibly"[6] or "within earshot"[7] of the people. The questioner seeks the prayers that

1. "Ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα . . ."
2. "Ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος . . ."
3. "Ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος . . ."
4. "Ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεός . . ."
5. "ἐκφώνως." The term "μυστικῶς" is translated as "inaudibly," and "ἐκφώνως," is translated "in an exclamatory manner." Regarding the meaning of "ἐκφώνως," Phountoulēs states in question 410:

> The ἐκφώνησις (exclamation) is the doxological epilogue of every single prayer, which is chanted melodically: ἐκφώνως (in an exclamatory manner). Namely, we can characterize the expression, ἐκφώνως (in an exclamatory manner) as a type of musical term, parallel to the phrase ἐκφωνητικὴ ψαλμῳδία (exclamatory chanting), which denotes the mode of melodious reading of sacred texts. In contrast, the prayer constitutes the main body of the text and is read either "εἰς ἐπήκοον" (within earshot) of the people, according to the more ancient taxis, which still applies even today in the sacred mysteries apart from the Divine Liturgy, or "μυστικῶς" (inaudibly), as became prevalent later in the prayers of the Divine Liturgy and of certain other services, namely of Vespers and Matins.

The "exclamatory chanting" can be compared to the singing used for dialogue and narrative in operas and oratorios. See also questions 551–553.

6. "μυστικῶς."
7. "εἰς ἐπήκοον."

the exclamations of Great Vespers must conclude according to the above rule. He does not find them and rightly asks what they mean and from where these "stray" exclamations originate. One can also make the same observation regarding many exclamations of Matins, which are also themselves "stray." What we would write regarding the exclamations of Vespers is also correspondingly applicable to the exclamations of Matins. The circumstance is the same.

The service of Vespers, celebrated nowadays in our temples, is monastic, originating, together with the other services of the daily cycle, from Jerusalem and in particular from the Monastery of Saint Sabas.[8] From the monasteries, it spread to and eventually also became prevalent in parish temples, which initially had special services

8. In discussing the liturgical Typikon in general, the liturgical scholar Robert Taft states, "This type of typikon (τυπικόν) is one of two Byzantine liturgical books with rules governing the celebration of services: where the diataxis gives the rubrics regulating the ordinary structure of services, the typikon indicates what is proper to each day of the year. There are three types of liturgical typikon: the 'cathedral' Typikon of the Great Church for the rite of Hagia Sophia and other secular churches, and two 'monastic' forms, the Stoudite and Sabaitic Typika, which regulated services in monasteries," (Robert Taft, "Typikon," *ODB* 3:2131–2132). See also the brief discussion of the Typika by Phountoulēs at the beginning of questions 67 and 445. Saint Sabas (439–532), born in Cappadocia, travelled to Palestine and eventually established there the monastery of Mar Saba, the Great Lavra of Saint Sabas. On his life and monastic system, see Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to the Seventh Centuries,* Dumbarton Oaks Studies 32 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995) and Joseph Patrich, "Palestinian Desert Monasticism: The Monastic Systems of Chariton, Gerasimos, and Sabas," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 16 (1995): 1–9. The Typikon and monastic system under his name exercised a wide influence throughout the Byzantine and Slavic worlds and continues to exert a major role in the Orthodox Church. For a general assessment of the influence of Sabaite monasticism and specific studies covering a wide range of subjects, see Joseph Patrich, ed., *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present,* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2001). The Typikon of Saint Sabas was published in various editions in 1545, 1577, 1603, 1615, 1643, 1685, 1691, 1738, 1771, and 2009. For a discussion of these editions as well as the text of the Typikon of Saint Sabas that will be referenced in the present work (outside of manuscript citations), see Νικόδημος Σκρέττας, ed., *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἁγίας Λαύρας τοῦ*

for the daily cycle, the so-called "asmatic" secular or parish services that originated from Antioch. However, the monastic Typikon did not remain pure but received influences from the secular Typikon. The current taxis of Vespers has quite a few such elements, which primarily concern the role of the priest and the deacon during the conducting of the service. This infiltration and incorporation of the "asmatic" elements into the monastic Vespers, which certainly did not take place at a time of a liturgical zenith, was not organic. The insertion of prayers and exclamations and their combination with the system and framework of the monastic service is often done entirely circumstantially and in a patchwork manner, so much so that the interpolated element is obvious even to the less observant student. This explains why many prayers lost their exclamations and exclamations their prayers.

The secular "asmatic" Vespers had eight great antiphons, an entrance, an ektenēs, three small antiphons, a prayer for the catechumens, two prayers for the faithful, plērōtika, a prayer of inclination, and a prayer of dismissal. Before each antiphon there preceded a diaconal petition, prayer, and exclamation. Thus, we have a system with a total of eighteen prayers and exclamations, organically ordered within the service. Of the eight great antiphons, the first and the eighth had fixed psalms; the first had Psalm 85 ("Incline your ear O Lord and hear us . . .")[9] and the eighth had Psalm 140 ("Lord, I have cried to you . . .").[10] The other six antiphons were moveable, namely, they had sequential psalms, so that together with the moveable antiphons of the Matins the "recurring cycle" of the Psalter is achieved, which was for this purpose divided into 68 antiphons. The prayers of the two fixed antiphons are inspired by their fixed Psalms, the 85th and 140th.

When the monastic Typikon became prevalent, priests encountered a difficulty during the celebration of Vespers. The prayers of the "asmatic" Vespers existed in the Euchologia, but the choir

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Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα (Ἱερουσαλήμ: Ἱερὰ καὶ Σεβασμία Λαύρα Σάββα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου Ἱερουσαλήμ, 2012).

9. "Κλῖνον, Κύριε, τὸ οὖς σου, καὶ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν . . ."

10. "Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ . . ."

chanted the monastic Vespers, in which, there did not exist places for the eighteen prayers that the "asmatic" had, but only for five or six. The attempt for the preservation of all the prayers of the "asmatic" Vespers and for their accommodation to the monastic taxis caused a series of anomalies, which ended up in the consolidation of the present practice. The prayer of the first great antiphon came after the first great synaptē (the litany of peace). This was the prayer of Psalm 85 and was strongly influenced by this psalm. While Psalm 85 was not chanted, the prayer ("O Lord, compassionate and merciful . . .")[11] remained together with its exclamation ("For to you are due all glory . . ."). The prayer of the second antiphon, "O Lord in your anger rebuke us not . . ."[12] and its exclamation, "For yours is the dominion . . ." found a place after the synaptē that follows the kathisma of the Psalter. The prayer of the eighth antiphon, of Psalm 140 ("Lord, I have cried to you . . ."), which was influenced by it ("In the evening and in the morning and at noonday . . .")[13] together with its exclamation ("For to you are due all glory . . .") was preserved as a prayer of entrance, since in the "asmatic" Vespers the entrance also took place during the eighth antiphon. A prayer of fervent supplication was the prayer well-known from the Divine Liturgy, "O Lord our God, accept this fervent supplication . . ."[14] with its exclamation, "For you are a merciful God who loves humankind . . . ." This prayer remained in its place. The prayer of the plērōtika was the prayer, "O great and most-high God . . ."[15] with its exclamation, "For you are a good God who loves humankind . . . ." The prayer of inclination, "O Lord our God who bowed the heavens . . ."[16] with the exclamation, "May the might of your kingdom . . ."[17] preserved its original place.

However, apart from these six prayers in the "asmatic" Vespers, another twelve existed. What would happen to them? They attempted to find some solution. The five prayers of the great antiphons (the

11. "Κύριε οἰκτίρμον καὶ ἐλεῆμον . . ."
12. "Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς ἡμᾶς . . ."
13. "Ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωῒ καὶ μεσημβρίας . . ."
14. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενῆ ταύτην ἱκεσίαν . . ."
15. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ὕψιστος . . ."
16. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κλίνας οὐρανούς . . ."
17. "Εἴη τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας σου . . ."

third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh) were said all together, with their exclamations, inaudibly, during the chanting of the introductory psalm, namely, at a time opportune for the priest.[18] These prayers also dragged along the other two, the prayers of the first and second antiphon, which had a place in the monastic service, but followed the fate of the other seven and were said altogether during the introductory psalm, despite the fact that their exclamations would be repeated in their places. In the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, more places were preserved for prayers during the chanting of the Psalter ("Τὰ πρὸς Κύριον"),[19] namely, four prayers, but also here the custom acquired from the monastic Vespers had its repercussions (see the answer to question 93). The prayers of the three antiphons were preserved only in the Kneeling Vespers of Pentecost, ("Blessed are you, O Master Pantokrator . . . ,"[20] "Lord, O Lord, who delivered us . . . ,"[21] and "O great and eternal God . . ."[22]). The prayer for the catechumens and the two prayers for the faithful were eliminated. The prayer for the plērōtika, "O great and most-high God . . . ,"[23] was preserved only at the kneeling of Pentecost. Finally, the prayer of the dismissal, ("O supremely good Lord our God, who sets down the day . . ."),[24] was also eliminated, because the monastic Vespers had its own blessing for the dismissal ("May Christ, our true God . . .").[25]

Let us summarize, while returning and responding directly to the questions: 1.) The exclamation "For to you are due all glory . . ." belongs to the prayer of the first great antiphon of the "asmatic"

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18. The introductory psalm is nowadays not chanted with exception of those portions (known as anoixantaria) when a vigil or feast is being celebrated.

19. The eighteenth kathisma (Psalms 119–133) is called the "To the Lord" ("τὰ Πρὸς Κύριον," or "τὰ προσκύρια," according to certain manuscripts) from the beginning phrase "To the Lord I cried when I was being afflicted..." ("Πρὸς Κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐκέκραξα . . .") of Psalm 119. These psalms are nowadays recited and not chanted.

20. "Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ . . ."

21. "Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ ρυσάμενος ἡμᾶς . . ."

22. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ αἰώνιος . . ."

23. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ὕψιστος . . ."

24. "Ὑπεράγαθε Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κλίνας τὴν ἡμέραν . . ."

25. "Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ταῖς πρεσβείαις . . ."

Vespers/present first prayer of the Lamp-lighting ("O Lord, compassionate and merciful . . ." 2.) The exclamation "For yours is the dominion . . ." belongs to the prayer of the second antiphon/present second prayer of the Lamp-lighting ("O Lord in your anger rebuke us not . . . ." 3.) The exclamation "For you are a merciful God who loves humankind . . . ," belongs to the prayer of the fervent supplication "O Lord our God, accept this fervent supplication . . . ." 4.) The exclamation "For you are a good God who loves humankind . . ." belongs to the prayer of the of the plērōtika for the "asmatic" Vespers "O great and most-high God, who alone has immortality . . . ."

302

In the standard rubrics of the Typikon we often encounter the phrase: "the presider (προεστώς) or the reader or, in the sacred monasteries, the assigned monk" reads the introductory psalm, the Six Psalms, and so forth. Who is this presider?

We encounter these standard rubrics in our liturgical books of monastic origin, namely, where they contain the Church's services for the daily cycle (Hōrologion, Triōdion, Pentēkostarion, Paraklētikē, Mēnaia, and so forth). "Προεστώς" is the abbot of the monastery or more generally the one who presides over a monastic brotherhood. When these liturgical books were introduced into the liturgical practice of the parish temples, their standard rubrics were also preserved and are accordingly applied in the parishes. Some rubrics, mainly in modern editions, have been modified, such as the phrase above has, which is mentioned in the question. Here, "or the reader" was added in an admittedly wrong place. The old rubric, the purely monastic one, is: "the presider or the assigned monk [or brother]." The more accurate revision would be: "the reader or, in the sacred monasteries, the presider or the assigned monk." Parishes do not have "presiders." According to secular terminology, a "presider" is a purely civil authority, for whom no particular place is provided for in divine worship. Certainly, perhaps some outstanding person of the parish assembly could be so designated, such as a hierarch presiding outside

of the bēma, or one of the priests or, finally, a respected person of the choir,[26] who in a sense presides during the service. But the precise meaning of this standard rubric is something else: the abbot or the assigned monk in the monasteries, and the reader in the parishes.

303

When must the blessing of the antidōron take place, after "Especially for our most holy . . ."[27] or before "Among the first, O Lord, remember our Archbishop . . ."[28]?

Nowadays the raising of the antidōron is usually done by priests before the exclamation "Among the first, O Lord, remember our Archbishop . . . ." The Apostolikē Diakonia's edition of the Hieratikon, 1962, in a sense, also formalizes this practice, which at this point on page 137 notes that "it is customary" for the priest "to bless while raising" the antidōron. Regarding this raising or blessing of the antidōron, we wrote in detail in the answer to question 109.

The more correct place for the raising of the antidōron is immediately after the exclamation "Especially for our most holy . . . ." And this because the raising is not only connected more directly with its historical origin, but also with the conceptual association of the raising of the antidōron with the commemoration of the Mother of God. The raising of the antidōron, as we saw in the referenced answer, is nothing other than the raising of the loaf of the Panagia, which, according to a slightly different taxis, is done at the trapeza of monasteries and in other circumstances.[29] After this exclamation, another series of commemorations begins "of Saint John, prophet, forerunner and Baptist," of the apostles, of other saints, of those "fallen asleep," of the living, and so forth. The megalynarion

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26. Phountoulēs appears to use the term, "χορός" (choir), as referring to the location in the temple where chanting takes place, often designated as the analogion (ἀναλόγιον). In this sense, the chanter leads the people in the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and creed. In addition, well-known chanters are sometimes viewed as leading the service in a sense, even though in actuality the celebrant is the priest or hierarch in the altar.

27. "Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας . . ."

28. "Ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κύριε, τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν . . ."

29. See question 407.

for the Mother of God continues of course, but the more logical place for the raising is at the beginning of the megalynarion rather than at its end. During the "raising of the Panagia," the megalynarion is chanted immediately after "Great is the name of the Holy Trinity . . . Most holy Theotokos help us,"[30] which is also said during the raising of the antidōron. Perhaps, very rightly, one would argue that if the raising is done after "Especially . . ." the continuity of the prayer is interrupted. But the prayer is interrupted even if the raising is done before "Among the first . . ." whether or not the last part of the prayer "Remember, O Lord, the city in which we dwell . . ."[31] has been already said, according to the prevailing bad custom, before the hierarchical commemoration. "Among the first . . ." and "And grant to us . . ."[32] again remain, which constitute inseparable parts of the entire prayer of the holy anaphora. The prayer again has not been completed.

From tradition we do not have enough sufficient witnesses, and this because the raising of the antidōron was introduced in later years, around the end of the Byzantine period, and for this reason there do not exist relevant indications in the printed Euchologia and Hieratika. According to a codex of the seventeenth century (*Athens 776*), the raising of the portion of the Panagia, which exists to the right of the lamb on the paten, was done immediately after "Especially . . ." or even during "Especially . . ." (the rubric is unclear; after the "Especially . . ." it notes "here . . ."; but when? During or after the exclamation?) and "All generations call you blessed . . ."[33] was also said by the priest. Symeōn of Thessaloniki writes something analogous: "It is raised then when it is the custom in the divine mystagogy to commemorate her, such as at the time when we say, 'Especially our Most Holy . . .'" (*Dialogue*, chapter 357).[34] There are certainly only two witnesses, but they also are, as far as I know, the only ones that respond to our question. And it is characteristic that

30. "Μέγα τὸ ὄνομα... Ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκε, βοήθει ἡμῖν."
31. "Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾗ παροικοῦμεν . . ."
32. "Καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν . . ."
33. "Μακαρίζομέν σε πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί . . ."
34. PG 155:664a. The mistaken reference to chapter 359 is corrected above.

they agree as to the time for raising the antidōron. They place the raising immediately after (or during) "Especially..." and not before "Among the first . . . ."

304

In the absence of a narthēx, where must the forty-day blessing take place? Is it permitted inside the temple and near the entrance door?

According to the printed and manuscript Euchologia, the service for the forty-day blessing is done "before the gates of the temple" or "outside the gate" or "towards the gate" or "before the doors of the temple in the narthēx."[35] Symeōn of Thessaloniki also attests to the same thing: "The priest while standing before the doors of the temple" reads the prayers; and also justifies that, "for it is not right [for the mother] to enter [the temple] before the prayer."[36] The entrance into the temple takes place after the reading of all the prayers and before the dismissal.

The traditional place for the prayers to be read is before the gates of the temple. Now if the temple does not have a narthēx, should the prayers be read outdoors? I think that it would be inhumane for the strictness of the rubric to be observed, since certainly both the health of the mother and of the infant are still fragile and weather conditions are often unfavorable. The space immediately after the gate of the temple, which in one way or another is equivalent to the missing narthēx, would be the appropriate place. As far as I know, this is what happens everywhere in this circumstance.

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35. The reading of prayers outside of the building is not meant in any of these instances, but all take place in the narthēx, which is the point that Phountoulēs later makes. In parish temples, traditionally, there are physical doors that often separate the nave (ὁ κυρίως ναός) from the narthēx. The word "ναός" is used in two senses, the temple in general (ὁ ναὸς γενικῶς) and the nave (ὁ κυρίως ναός). Such divisions in the building may reflect an incremental procession or progression into the holiness of the temple's worshipping space or the Church generally. The question concerns a small chapel or temple that was built without any of the separating doors. This happens often in Greece when funding is obtained incrementally for the construction of temples and a narthēx is added years after the main structure is built.

36. *Dialogue*, chapter 60 (PG 155:209c–212a).

305

When a child has died, what dismissal must be done during the service of the forty-day blessing?

The modern printed editions have the dismissal for the feast of the Meeting of Christ, "May He who deigned to be held in the arms of the righteous Symeōn for our salvation . . . ,"[37] which is appropriate for the service of the forty-day blessing, as long as (it goes without saying) the baby is alive, and the service was done in imitation of the Meeting of the Lord for his or her sake. However, if "he or she is not among the living," the Euchologia note that after the second prayer: "the priest does the dismissal." It would be absurd for the dismissal of the Meeting to be said. It is self-evident that it is omitted, together with everything that refers to the child. It is correct, I think, for the service to be concluded with the common dismissal: "May Christ our true God . . . ."[38]

306

Can a priest celebrate forty Liturgies[39] during the period of Great Lent, given that during this time no other Liturgy is performed apart from the Presanctified?

Forty Liturgies cannot be celebrated during the period of Great Lent. The Presanctified, even if we assume that it was celebrated on a daily basis, is not a Liturgy in the strict sense of the term, namely, a celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. There is no offering during it, nor consequently a commemoration of the living

37. "Ὁ ἐν ἀγκάλαις τοῦ δικαίου Συμεὼν βασταχθῆναι καταδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν . . ."

38. "Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν . . ."

39. This is a translation of the word "τὸ σαρανταλείτουργο" and refers to a modern custom of celebrating a Liturgy each day for forty consecutive days, most often by the same celebrant, typically before a major feast such as the Nativity. It is viewed as a spiritual exercise for the priest and the congregation to increase spiritual life and as a means by which special commemorations can be made for the living and the dead. In this particular case, the question is raised regarding how the custom can be done during a period in which, with limited exceptions, complete Liturgies are generally not performed outside of Saturdays and Sundays.

or of the dead, for whom the forty Liturgies would be offered. The commemoration of names during the ektenēs of the Presanctified is the regular commemoration for Vespers and must not be confused with the commemoration that is done during the proskomidē for the Divine Liturgy, during which the excision of particles takes place on behalf of those for whom the sacrifice is offered, and in the diptychs after the consecration of the precious gifts. The Presanctified is a Vespers with communion. It is not a Liturgy/anaphora/offering.

In accordance with the above, the Typika expressly prescribe that the "offerings" (the Divine Liturgy) for the repose of the souls of brothers or sisters, who happened to die during Lent, begin from the Sunday of Thomas and continue up until the completion of the forty Liturgies. This rubric was also included in the printed Triōdia on the Monday of the First Week of the Fast: "It is necessary to know that if it occurs that a brother departs to the Lord during these holy days . . . his offerings and commemorations begin from the new Sunday up until the completion of forty days." By extension, the above rubric also applies for the forty Liturgies on behalf of the living.

307

What is the verse for the prokeimenon of Matins, "Let everything that has breath praise the Lord,"[40] which is chanted before the gospel reading? Where is it written?[41]

The prokeimenon of Matins, "Let everything that has breath…" in all the printed editions of our liturgical books, at least the ones I was able to see, is presented without a verse. Research into the manuscripts did not shed light on the question. Everywhere, it is almost stereotypically repeated in all instances, "'Let everything that has breath' and the gospel reading," or sometimes in more detail the tone (tone two) is specified, or the entire prokeimenon, "Let everything that has breath praise the Lord," is set down, or it is added that it is chanted "three times."

40. "Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον."

41. On the prokeimenon in this volume, see questions 315, 340, 344, 398, and 399.

We start from the following presuppositions: a) That the prokeimenon must have at least one verse. In the modern tradition, as reflected in the published liturgical books in use, the prokeimena are accompanied by one verse, however also sometimes by two or even three, at a maximum. b) That the verses are drawn from the same psalm from which the prokeimenon has been chosen. c) If there is one verse, then as a rule it is the first verse of the psalm, except if its first verse has been chosen as a prokeimenon, then the one immediately following, namely, the second one, is a verse of the prokeimenon. All these points are derived from the historical origin of the prokeimenon, which is a selected verse placed before a psalm. The whole psalm was recited with stichologia and after each verse the prokeimenon was repeated. Gradually, the verses were reduced, until we arrived at the current practice, according to which, as it is well known, the prokeimenon is chanted three times, the first and second time without a verse, and the third time with the first verse of the psalm. By extension, the entire psalm, namely, the prokeimenon proper with its verses, was called a prokeimenon, as a text before a reading, ("The prokeimena are placed before the prophetic and the apostolic scriptures and the gospel reading...and prepare for the reading," Markos Eugenikos, *Explanation of the Church's Daily Office*)[42] or as a prophetic introduction of the feast ("this is the prophecy concerning the feast, a psalmic verse teaching about this day . . . . The prokeimenon is said

42. Saint Markos Eugenikos, *Ἐξήγησις ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας (Explanation of the Church's Daily Office)* (PG 160:1189d. Saint Markos Eugenikos (Μάρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός), (ca. 1392–1445), Metropolitan of Ephesos (r. 1437–1445), became the chief theological spokesman for the Orthodox legation at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439), where he refused to sign the decree of union with the Roman Catholics. He is the author of an extensive number of theological, polemical, exegetical, liturgical, and spiritual works, as well as letters, most of which remain unedited and scattered in manuscripts. This brief overview is based on the extensive study, Nicholas Constas, "Mark Eugenikos," in *La Théologie Byzantine et Sa Tradition*, ed. Camello Giuseppe Conticello and Vassa Conticello (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2002), 2:411–475.

as an introduction of the feasts and the coming days," Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 337).[43]

The psalm from which the prokeimenon of Matins is drawn is the last psalm of the Psalter, Psalm 150, verse 6. In accordance with the above, this prokeimenon originally had to be chanted during the stichologia of Psalm 150, and if only one verse were preserved, this ought to be the first verse of the psalm ("Praise God in his saints, praise him in the firmament of his power").[44] It was indeed preserved with this verse in the Slavic liturgical books and in the Hōrologion of the Monastery of Kryptopherrēs (ed. 1950, p. 47).[45] Why is it not also included in our own liturgical books? It is very probable that the verse was not indicated because it was very well known due to the frequent use of Psalm 150 and the prokeimenon, "Let everything that has breath . . . ." Many times, the notes in our liturgical books, particularly with regard to verses of psalms, are purely a reminder; the verses are presupposed to be known by heart. The tendency prevailing nowadays, to chant the prokeimenon of the Vespers three times without verses, is very recent and is not encountered in our liturgical books. But perhaps this triple repetition of the prokeimenon without a verse may have started from "Let everything that has breath . . . ," which is the most frequent of the prokeimena.

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43. PG 155:609b, 612a. Unlike that presented in Phountoulēs's version, the text in PG 155:612a has the word "prokeimenon" in the plural: "Προκείμενα δὲ λέγεται, ὡς τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων ἡμερῶν προοίμια."

44. "Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν στερεώματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ."

45. *Ὡρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ Ἁγίῳ περιέχον τὴν ἡμερονύκτιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀκολουθίαν τῆς Ἱερᾶς καὶ περιβλέπτου Μονῆς τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης* (Ἐν Κρυπτοφέρρῃ: n.p., 1950), 47. "Ἡ Μονὴ τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης" is the Monastery of Grottaferrata founded in 1004 and located near Rome. For a comparative study of this edition with others, see Ἰωάννης Φουντούλης, "Αἱ ἀκολουθίαι τῶν ὡρῶν τοῦ νυχθημέρου κατὰ τὸ ὡρολόγιον τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης, ἐν συγκρίσει πρὸς τὸ Κωνσταντινουπολιτικὸν ὡρολόγιον" in *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico intereccleslale (Bari, 30 aprile-4 maggio 1969)*, Italia Sacra, 22 (Padova: Antenore, 1972), 2:579–588.

Accordingly, the prokeimenon of Matins must have, according to its complete and correct form, the following elements:[46]

Προκείμενον, ἦχος β', ψαλμὸς ρν'	Prokeimenon, Tone Two, Psalm 150
Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον (δίς).	Let everything that has breath praise the Lord (twice).
Στίχ. Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν στερεώματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.	Verse. Praise God in his saints, praise him in the firmament of his power.
Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον.	Let everything that has breath praise the Lord.

308

During the first week of the Fast we chant the Great Canon at the Great Compline. Where must the Great Canon be inserted, at the beginning or after the doxology? The Hōrologion published by the Apostolikē Diakonia (1967) places it in both of these two places (pp. 159 and 175).

309

In the Hōrologion, published by the Apostolikē Diakonia (1967, p. 159), it is indicated concerning the Great Compline that "if it is the first week of Great Lent, we begin with 'O God, be attentive unto my assistance . . . .'[47] and if it is not, we begin as follows: Psalm 4, 'When I call upon you . . . .'"[48] Does this mean that during Clean Week, we would omit the contents of the Great Compline up until Psalm 69?

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46. These recommendations are reflected for the most part in recent published editions such as that of the Apostolikē Diakonia and the *Συλλειτουργικὸν* of the Monastery of Simōnopetra, where the "assumed" verse has now been added. However, the current practice of modifying the last chanted verse of the prokeimenon, "Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον" to "Αἰνεσάτω πνοὴ πᾶσα τὸν Κύριον," has also been incorporated. Phountoulēs does not address this modification or include it in his recommendations here. However, see question 515 for his comment regarding the "asmatic" Typikon, "which very often 'played' with musical or phrasal anagrams and inversions of verses."

47. "Ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν μου πρόσχες . . . ," (Psalm 69:1).

48. "Ἐν τῷ ἐπικαλεῖσθαί με . . ." (Psalm 4:2).

The insertion of segments of the Great Canon during the service of the Great Compline during the first four fasting days of Clean Week (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday) presents certain typical difficulties, which are owed to the coming together of two, three, or even more primitive traditions, and the effort of reconciling them or of the parallel preservation of two of them.

According to the *Typikon of the ecclesiastical rite of the Holy Lavra in Jerusalem of our God-bearing Father Sabas* (Venice 1771, p. 117), the Great Canon was inserted at the beginning of the service after the enarxis trisagion, "O come, let us worship . . . ,"[49] and Psalm 69.[50] We also find precisely the same taxis in manuscript Typika such as the *Codex Sinai 1094* from the twelfth-thirteenth century and in later manuscript Athonite Typika. This taxis is observed on the Holy Mountain even nowadays, just as in many other places. It appears that this was the taxis of the coenobitic monasteries of Palestine, which were directly or indirectly influenced by the Typikon of the Lavra of Saint Sabas, although in the Lavra, Compline was not chanted "in the church," but privately by the monks "in the cells."[51] We also encounter this rubric in the layout of the taxis for Compline that exists in the printed Triōdion for Clean Monday, which is almost identical with the one that we noted in the *Codex Sinai 1094* from the twelfth–thirteenth century.

A second way of inserting the Great Canon is attested to by the Typika of the Great Church of Kōnstantinos the Prōtopsaltēs (Constantinople 1838) and in G. Violakēs (Athens, 1921). Consistent with these, the Canon was inserted, not at the beginning, but around the end of the Great Compline, namely, after the doxology and before "O Lord of the powers . . . ,[52] "After the doxology, we begin to chant the Great Canon . . . then the trisagion and we chant 'O Lord of the powers.'" (Typikon of Kōnstantinos, p. 159

49. "Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν . . ."

50. *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἁγίας λαύρας τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα* (Ἐνετίησιν: Νικόλαος Γλυκύς, 1771), 117.

51. See also answer 401.

52. "Κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων . . ."

and G. Violakēs, p. 333).[53] At this point of the Compline—Great or Small—in the monasteries, the canons of the Theotokos (Theotokarion) or the canons of the Mēnaia that are omitted during Great Week and Renewal Week are inserted, which, so that they are not left out, are transferred to the Complines of Great Lent.

Analogous to this second taxis is the insertion into the second part of the Great Compline, after Psalm 50, of the canon of the Theotokos or of "the Saint of the day," which is attested to by the Typikon of the Monastery of the Evergetis, and by other old Typika (*Codices Athens 788, Barberini III 69, Vatican 1877*), all from the twelfth-thirteenth century.

The peculiar thing is that the same printed Triōdion that provides us the standard rubric, which we noted at the beginning, in the standard rubrics for Clean Monday, a little further down, when it is about to indicate the part of the Great Canon that would be chanted according to it, ignoring the previous one, prescribes a different rubric, which approximates more the second way of inserting the Canon that we saw above: "After the trisagion, 'O God, be attentive to my assistance . . . ,' 'O Lord, hear my prayer . . . ,'[54] and 'Glory to God in the highest . . . ,'[55] we chant the first part of the Great Canon as follows . . . ." This is obviously a different taxis, which places it in parallel to the other one, as, for example, is also done in the standard rubrics of the printed Mēnaia, which for various feast days provide special antiphons for the Divine Liturgy, while in the text of the service, a little further below, prescribe the typika and the Beatitudes. Perhaps, due to the length of the service, the Great Compline was shortened and only three of its main elements were chanted: the Psalms 69 and 142, and the doxology. In other words, instead of the Great Compline, a form of the Small was chanted. We find an analogous shortening of the Great Compline in manuscripts

53. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βυζάντιος, *Πρωτοψάλτης, Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὸ ὕφος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας τῶν Ἀδελφῶν Ἰγνατιαδῶν, 1838), 159, where the quotation is from; and Γ. Βιολάκης, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1921), 333.

54. "Κύριε εἰσάκουσον τῆς προσευχῆς μου . . ."

55. "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις . . ."

for the Wednesday and Thursday of the Fifth Week of the Fast: "on account of the fatigue of the Great Canon" (*Codices Barberini III 69, Messina 115*).

The two basic variations came down to the current practice and were recorded, as we saw, in our liturgical books in use today. Both are also mentioned in the older editions of the Hōrologia (for example, of Constantinople 1900; Saliveros, no date). However, in a footnote, it is clarified that "this Great Canon is chanted nowadays, almost by all, after 'Glory to God in the highest . . . .'" In the edition of the Apostolikē Diakonia that the question mentions, it seems that a similar clarifying footnote was lost, resulting in the justifiable confusion. It is not possible for the two dissimilar traditions to coexist. In practice, either the one taxis must be preferred that places the Canon at the beginning, or the other that places the Canon after the doxology, or it must even be left up to the preference of those that celebrate the service, who could follow either their local tradition or the taxis more convenient according to their judgment. As long as the publication does not take a position, the pertinent clarification is necessary. Otherwise, the confusion is unavoidable.

Which of the two standard rubrics is the more accurate one? Naturally, both, since they have their basis in ancient practice, as we saw. However, the insertion of the Canon after the doxology is preferable, for the one and only reason that this does not cause disruptions to the service, such as putting Psalm 69 first as well as its omission from the beginning of the third part of the Compline, where its original and ordinary place is. Why was the other taxis introduced since it was possible for the Canon to be inserted in the traditional place of the canons after the doxology? Perhaps formerly, apart from the Great Canon, they also chanted the usual canon of the Theotokos or of the saint. Thus, the Great Canon was chanted towards the beginning and the other towards the end of the service in order for a relative distance to exist between the chanting of the one and of the other. However, there do not exist witnesses from ancient practice for the support of this hypothesis.

With regard now to the second question, the standard rubric as currently worded in the Hōrologion could be interpreted just as the questioner understood it. Namely, after "O come, let us worship . . . ," if it is the first week of the Fast, we begin from "O God, be attentive to my assistance . . . ," we chant the Canon, and after this, follows the remaining service of Compline (according to the rubric of the Triōdion), namely, from "O Lord, hear my prayer . . ." (Psalm 142) of the third part of the Compline onward. But if it is not the first week, "we begin in this manner," namely, from Psalm 4, "When I call upon you . . . ." However, the standard rubrics of the printed Triōdion, the *Codex Sinai 1094*, the printed Typikon of Saint Sabas (edition of Venice, 1771), the later manuscript Typika, and the living contemporary practice of the Holy Mountain, which we mentioned at the beginning of the answer, clarify that "after the completion of the Canon, we begin with Psalm 4, 'When I call upon you . . . .' Likewise, also the other psalms of the Compline." At the beginning of the third part of the Compline after the prayer, "O Master God . . ."[56] of the end of the second part, and after "O come, let us worship . . . ," the rubric of the Triōdion and the Typikon of Saint Sabas (edition 1771) repeat Psalm 69, "O God, be attentive unto my assistance . . . ." According to the Typikon of the *Codex Sinai 1094*, the later manuscript Typika, and the contemporary practice of Holy Mountain, Psalm 69 is not repeated, but the third part begins from, "Lord, hear my prayer . . ." (Psalm 142). This is also more correct. As long as this psalm was chanted at the beginning, its repetition is liturgically absurd.

310

During the Vesperal Liturgy of Basileios the Great for Great Thursday, Great Saturday, the eve of the Nativity, and the eve of feast of Lights, what is said after the prophecies and before the epistle reading? "A synaptē"[57] (=the litany of peace[58]?), "a small

56. "Δέσποτα Θεέ, . . ."
57. "συναπτή."
58. "τὰ εἰρηνικά."

synaptē"[59] ("Again and again . . ."),[60] or simply "Let us pray to the Lord"[61]? All three exist in our liturgical books.

The question highlights a lack of uniformity that is observed in our liturgical books and in contemporary practice on the manner of introducing the trisagion or "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ . . ."[62] during the celebration of the Divine Liturgy of Basileios the Great in the Vespers of the days above. For us to remain only with the printed editions of the Apostolikē Diakonia of the Church of Greece, the "synaptē" is provided for the Vespers of the Nativity by the December Mēnaion and for the Vespers of Theophany by the January Mēnaion, the "small synaptē" for Great Thursday and Great Saturday by the Triōdion, and "Let us pray to the Lord" in all these instances by the Hieratikon. The terms are clear: "synaptē" means the litany of peace. The "small synaptē" is its abridgment, for which originally the verb "τριστίχειν"[63] was used, because only three verses of the synaptē were said: "Again and again . . . ,"[64] "Help us . . . ,"[65] and "Commemorating . . . ."[66] "Let us pray to the Lord," is the most abbreviated form of the diaconal petitions, which is used for the introduction of the priestly prayers or exclamations. Because the term "synaptē" is sometimes also used to indicate the "small synaptē," it could be implied that here "small" is also understood and thus we have only two, instead of apparently three forms. In practice nowadays, these two forms are preserved. Some celebrants follow the taxis of the Mēnaia and the Triōdion and use the small synaptē, and others, the majority, follow the taxis of the Hieratikon and only say "Let us pray to the Lord."

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59. "συναπτὴ μικρά."
60. "Ἔτι καὶ ἔτι . . ."
61. "Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν."
62. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε . . ."
63. The first part of the verb, "τρι," means "three" and the last part, "στίχειν," an aorist infinitive of the verb "στείχω" (to come after one another), which is related to the noun, "στίχος" (verse). Hence, the implied meaning of the verb, "to be done in three consecutive verses."
64. ""Ετι καὶ ἔτι . . ."
65. "Ἀντιλαβοῦ . . ."
66. "Τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου . . ."

The Typikon of Saint Sabas (edition of Venice 1771) provides for a "small synaptē."

The "small synaptē" is also prescribed by the Typika of the Great Church (Kōnstantinos, Constantinople 1838, pp. 184 and 190; G. Violakēs, Athens 1921, pp. 358 and 365).[67] In the Typikon of Violakēs, the first attempt is also encountered for reconciliation of the older practice with the newer one and the transition from the "small synaptē" to "Let us pray to the Lord." For the standard rubric for the eves of the Nativity and Theophany, it notes: "After these prophecies, the small synaptē, 'Let us pray to the Lord.'" The editor of the Typikon is not disturbed by the fact that these are two different things. "Let us pray to the Lord" is submitted as an explanation of the "small synaptē."

The "synaptē," namely, the litany of peace, if perhaps not explicitly encountered in the Mēnaion of December, is expressly attested to by the older manuscript Typika. In the Typikon of the Monastery of the Savior of Messina from the year 1131[68] and in the Typikon of *Codex Vatican 1877* from the year 1292, it is prescribed: "The deacon says the great synaptē, the priest says the prayer of the trisagion, then the trisagion or 'As many of you that have been baptized into Christ . . . .'" The Typikon of Saint Sophia of Constantinople from the tenth century (*Codex Timiou Staurou 40*) and the Typikon of the Monastery of Evergetis from the twelfth century (*Codex Athens 788*) name, as also the other sources, this great synaptē "a synaptē of the trisagion" or "a prayer of the trisagion" and provide for its recitation by the deacon after the readings from the Old Testament.[69]

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67. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βυζάντιος, Πρωτοψάλτης, *Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὸ ὕφος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*, (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας τῶν Ἀδελφῶν Ἰγνατιαδῶν, 1838), 184, 190; Γ. Βιολάκης, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1921), 358, 365.

68. Miguel Arranz, ed., *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensi Gr 115, A.D. 1131, Introduction, Text Critique et Notes*, OCA 185 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1969), 82, 98.

69. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 1:154–155, 180–181; Robert H. Jordan, ed. and trans., *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, September to February*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.6 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2000), 330–333.

Therefore, this is clearly a matter of three different taxeis that follow a developmental course: From the older, the great synaptē, towards the newer, the small synaptē, and finally to the newest, "Let us pray to the Lord." This element of the ordinary Liturgy also had precisely the same development. The synaptē, which originally during the fourth–fifth century was said after the departure of the catechumens, during the prayers of the faithful, was transferred before the trisagion. We find it there in the Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos the Brother of God. From the ninth century, its transference before the antiphons begins, where it is found nowadays. However, up until the thirteenth century, the synaptē also remains before the trisagion. Both were preserved in our current Euchologia in the services of the great and small monastic schēma. Nevertheless, gradually, the old synaptē of the trisagion began to atrophy, its petitions reduced, until in the end it reached the ultimate possible contraction, namely, in the present "Let us pray to the Lord." The Vesperal Liturgies of Basileios the Great followed the same course. They stand nowadays at "Let us pray to the Lord"; the two previous forms are anachronistic.

However, our liturgical books are slow-moving in liturgical development. We find in them old and newer rubrics, in use and disuse. The result is confusion and puzzlement concerning practice. Thus, instead of our liturgical books facilitating the proper execution of the services, they themselves cause the liturgical lack of uniformity that is so disliked by many. Certainly, the work of harmonization, correct handling, and resolution of these differences of our liturgical books is very difficult and sensitive. From such uncritical meddling, unfortunately not rare, liturgical monstrosities are created that have destructive consequences to correct liturgical practice. For this reason, according to the proverb "the lesser of two evils," it is perhaps preferable to often endure – let us hope not forever – the results of the confusion from the various layers of liturgical traditions than to confront liturgical incomprehensibilities.

311

When must the inaudible thanksgiving prayer, "We give thanks to you, O Master who loves humankind, benefactor of our souls . . . ,"[70] normally be read, after the holy communion of the clergy or after the holy communion of the faithful? The reading of this prayer is variously encountered.

The original and only correct place for the prayer of thanksgiving after holy communion—"We give thanks to you, O Master who loves humankind . . ." of the Liturgy of the sacred Chrysostomos, as well as the corresponding prayer of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, "We give thanks to you, O Lord our God, for the communion . . . ,"[71] and of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, "We give thanks to you God the savior of all . . . ,"[72]—is precisely after the diaconal petitions "Arise, having partaken . . ."[73] and before the priestly exclamation "For you are our sanctification . . . ."[74] The diaconal petitions introduce the prayer and give its subject, which is thanksgiving for partaking of holy Mysteries. The exclamation "For you are our sanctification . . ." is the common doxological conclusion of all three prayers that we mentioned. In this, the reference to holy communion is clear, by which "sanctification" is provided to the people of God. Just as before holy communion, we have the relevant preparatory prayers, which are the prayer before the Lord's Prayer, the "Our Father . . ." itself ("give us this day our daily bread"), and the prayer of inclination—(the other prayers that are read nowadays, "I believe, O Lord, and confess . . ."[75] and so forth and the troparia, "Of your mystical supper . . ."[76] and so forth, do not belong in the original text of the Divine Liturgy)—so also after it in all the Liturgies in use, at precisely this place, the thanksgiving for holy communion is found. At this place, there also exist analogous thanksgiving

70. "Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, εὐεργέτα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν..."
71. "Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει..."
72. "Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι τῷ σωτῆρι τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ..."
73. "Ὀρθοὶ μεταλαβόντες..."
74. "Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν..."
75. "Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ..."
76. "Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ..."

prayers in all the ancient Liturgies of the East, such as in the archaic Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in the Jerusalemite Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos the Brother of the Lord, in the Alexandrian Liturgies of Saint Markos, Basileios the Great, and Grēgorios the Theologian, in the Armenian Liturgy, in the Liturgies of the West, and so forth.

The thanksgiving concerns the entire plenitude of the Church, clergy and people, who participated in the sanctification of the Mysteries. This is obvious, but it can also be confirmed by the texts of the prayers, which apart from the fact that they are written in the plural (see "Let us give thanks . . . ,"[77] "We give thanks to you… our souls . . . made us worthy . . . our . . . us . . .all . . . ."[78] and so forth), many of them commemorate all the ranks of the faithful, priests, kings, rulers, people, and so forth. There are also various testimonies of the Fathers to the collective character of the prayer and its particular importance as a common thanksgiving for the great gift of holy communion, such as Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem: "Then as you wait for the prayer, thank God for admitting you to these great mysteries" (*Mystagogic Catechesis* 5.22),[79] Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite: "having partaken and distributed the divine communion, he concludes in sacred thanksgiving with the entire sacred plenitude of the Church" (*Concerning the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3.3.14),[80] Saint Eutychios of Constantinople: "and just as then, after having eaten, singing hymns they went out to the Mount of Olives, so also we, after partaking the Holy Body and Blood, give thanks and each

77. "Εὐχαριστήσωμεν…"

78. "Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι…τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν… κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς…ἡμῶν…. ἡμᾶς…τοὺς πάντας …"

79. Translation from Edward Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 187. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, Mystagogic Catechesis 5. 22 in *Cyrille de Jérusalem, Catéchèses Mystagogiques*, ed. Auguste Piédagnel and trans. Pierre Paris, SC 126 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966), 172. The mistaken reference, 5. 19, is corrected above to 5. 22.

80. PG 3:444d–445a. Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite was a sixth century author who falsely represented his writings as those of the hieromartyr Saint Dionysios, who is mentioned in Acts 17:34 and commemorated on October 3. Pseudo-Dionysios's theological views were heavily influenced by Neoplatonism and exercised a wide influence on liturgical writings (Alexander Kazhdan and Barry Baldwin, "Dionysios the Areopagite, Pseudo-," *ODB* 2:629–630).

one goes out returning to his own home" (*Homily Concerning Pascha and the Holy Eucharist* 3).[81] Saint Iōannēs Chrysostomos indeed condemns those believers, who (since holy communion lasted a long time, since many approached the mysteries, and communion was also given under both species separately) had the bad habit "before the final thanksgiving . . . to leap up and depart to their homes" (*Concerning the Baptism of Christ* 4).[82]

The ancient standard rubrics render the issue under discussion incontrovertible. In the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, it is prescribed that "when all the men and women partook, the deacons receiving the remainders carried them to the sacristy.[83] When the chanting has come to an end, let the deacon say, 'Having received the precious Body and the precious Blood of Christ, let us give thanks to him who made us worthy to receive his holy Mysteries . . .' . . . And let the bishop give thanks . . . 'We give thanks to you, for you have made us worthy to receive . . .'" (Book 8.13–15).[84] In the oldest Byzantine Euchologion, the *Codex Barberini 336* from the eighth century, the standard rubric precedes the prayer: "And after all partake, when the deacon says the prayer,[85] the priest prays . . . ."[86] In the *Codex Athens 685*, the prayer bears the title: "Prayer after

81. Eutychios, *Homily Concerning Pascha and the Holy Eucharist* 3 (PG 86:2396a).

82. PG 49:370. Even nowadays, there is a tradition, especially for those faithful who have just communed to remain after the conclusion of the Liturgy while the thanksgiving prayers are recited out loud and the priest consumes the remaining Holy Elements. Otherwise, it is still considered improper to commune and then exit before the formal dismissal.

83. "τὰ παστοφόρια." In the plural, this term signifies the sacristy (Lampe, s.v. "παστοφόριον, τό").

84. *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.13.16, 14.1–2, 15.1–2 in *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, ed. and trans. Marcel Metzger, SC 336 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), 210–212. In the text, the incorrect reference was given as 8.14–15 instead of 8.13–15.

85. "λέγοντος τοῦ διακόνου τὴν εὐχήν." See question 410 where Phountoulēs explains that this expression means that the Deacon says his synaptē.

86. "Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν, λέγοντος τοῦ διακόνου τὴν εὐχήν, ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεύς." Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Eucologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 20.1.

all partake."[87] In many ancient and late manuscripts, even in old, printed editions, the thanksgiving prayer is located after "With fear of God . . . ,"[88] "the partaking having been completed and the holy remnants removed from the sacred table."

The transfer of this prayer after the communion of the clergy and before the communion of the people was done in later times. A cause for this transfer initially was the custom of reading this prayer inaudibly. Just as also in many other circumstances, this caused its removal from its exclamation, namely, from its original and natural position. The diaconal petitions and the exclamation, since they were melodiously[89] said and within earshot of the people, were a strong element and remained unmoved; the prayer, although it was theoretically the center, and the weight of the thanksgiving was borne on it, since it was said inaudibly, became the element weaker in practice and easily transferable. When a deacon concelebrates, the prayer could be said during the diaconal petitions, "Arise, having partaken . . . ." This practice is attested to, as we already saw, in the *Codex Barberini 336*. However, when there was no deacon, and this gradually became the rule, the prayer had to be read by the priest (who would also say the diaconal petitions) at an opportune time, namely, before the koinōnikon was completed and immediately after his communion. The rubric of the *Codex Paris 385* from the fourteenth century is characteristic: "If there is no deacon, here, [namely before 'With fear of God . . .'] the priest is obliged to say the prayer to himself, 'We give thanks to you, O Master . . . .'" The people's sparse approach to holy communion also assisted in this. As long as in one way or another the faithful did not approach holy communion most of the time, the prayer came to pertain only to the priest who always communed. It is likewise noteworthy that the transfer started from the Liturgy of the sacred Chrysostomos, which was celebrated more frequently. The liturgical practice in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great remained more conservative since it was cel-

87. "Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν."
88. "Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ..."
89. "ἐμμελῶς."

ebrated only ten times a year. At least it can be concluded from the old, printed editions, which place the thanksgiving prayer after the communion of the priest in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos, but in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great preserve it in its ancient and original place: "when communion is completed, and the holy remnants are removed from the holy altar," (The Divine Liturgies, edition of Venice 1795, 1813, edition of Constantinople 1875, and so forth). The Archieratika remained likewise conservative for the same reasons. The Archieratikon (edition of the Apostolikē Diakonia 1971, pp. 31, 58, and 73) also positions the thanksgiving prayer in all three Liturgies in its correct place, namely, before the exclamation "For you are our sanctification . . . ." Moreover, the hierarchs always concelebrated with a deacon or with priests, who said the diaconal petitions. Finally, for the history of the subject, we note that in some codices the prayer is transferred before "With fear of God . . . ," but preserves its ancient standard rubric "when communion is completed . . . ." This was a transitional stage.

312

In the service of unction is it necessary for "Blessed is the kingdom . . ." to be said before the litany of peace?

The service of unction, as it is presented in our contemporary Euchologia, is the product of a very long development. It started from a single prayer, "For the oil of the sick,"[90] which was said during the Divine Liturgy, and arrived at its approximate present form during the thirteenth century, which is composed of two clearly distinguishable parts, the Matins and the celebration of the mystery.

The Matins begins with "Blessed is our God . . ." and the trisagion of the enarxis and includes Psalm 142 ("O Lord hear my prayer . . .")[91] as an epitome of the Six Psalms (as also in other instances), a synaptē, the "alleluia" with its troparia, Psalm 50, a canon with kathismata after the third ode and a kontakion after the sixth ode, an exaposteilarion, stichēra for lauds, a trisagion, and an apo-

90. "εἰς ἔλαιον νοσούντων."
91. "Κύριε εἰσάκουσον τῆς προσευχῆς μου..."

lytikion. Nowadays, no one views this part as a Matins, but rather as an introduction to the service of holy unction as such. However, from the entire structure of this first part of the service and from the explicit testimonies of the manuscripts, it is indisputable that an actual service of Matins or a vigil was conducted. Other elements of the Matins are occasionally included in the manuscripts that are missing from the printed editions. In any case, confirmation exists in all of them that a dismissal took place at the end. The second part was not "consecutively" done with the first.

The second part is the service for the mystery. In the printed editions, it has the litany of peace, the consecration prayer ("O Lord, who in your mercy…"),[92] a series of troparia, seven pairs of readings with their prokeimena and allēlouaria, seven ekteneis, and seven prayers. The entire service concludes with the absolution prayer and the anointing of the one sick. Both from the taxis of the printed editions and more clearly from the manuscripts, it appears that we have a service for a mystery interwoven with the Divine Liturgy. The synaptē (the litany of peace) is that of the Divine Liturgy with an addition of special petitions, the troparia are in the place of the apolytikia for the Divine Liturgy, the first two readings are in the place of the readings, and the ektenēs and the prayer are in the place of the ektenēs and the prayer "of the fervent supplication"[93] of the Divine Liturgy. The other six pairs of readings and the six ekteneis and prayers correspond to the other six priests who took part in the service; care had been taken for each one of them to have his own part, with specific readings and a prayer. After that, the entrance of the gifts would take place and the Divine Liturgy would be celebrated. After this, the absolution of the one sick would take place. The antiphons are missing, because the mysteries were regularly included in the present place of the antiphons, since at that time the Divine Liturgy did not have antiphons, or in the immediate subsequent period the antiphons were omitted due to the celebration of the mystery; nonetheless, antiphons also exist in some manuscripts. The trisagion is indicated in certain manuscripts (or "As many of you that have

92. "Κύριε ὁ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει…"
93. "τῆς ἐκτενοῦς ἱκεσίας."

been baptized into Christ . . ."[94] instead of it) but is left out in others as a well-known element of the Divine Liturgy. The similarity of the structure of this part of the service of unction with the mysteries of baptism and marriage, which were also associated with the Divine Liturgy, is obvious.

This second sacramental part of the service of unction was expected to have its own enarxis, just as it also had its own existence and independence, since indeed it was not celebrated attached with the Matins. And this enarxis could not be any other than the enarxis of the Divine Liturgy, namely, "Blessed is the kingdom . . ."[95] just as in the mysteries of baptism and marriage. This precisely is also encountered in a significant number of old manuscripts of those published by A. Dmitrievskii, *Euchologia*, Kiev 1901,[96] and of those that were taken under consideration by Professor P. Trempelas in this study on "The Service of the Unction" (*The Small Euchologion*, vol. 1, Athens 1950, pp. 97–191).[97] "Blessed is the kingdom..." is placed before the litany of peace in the following codices: *Sinai 973* from the twelfth century, *Sinai 960* from the thirteenth century, *Athens S. 14* and *S. 690* from the fourteenth century, *Athens S. 724* from the fourteenth–fifteenth century, *Sinai 980*, *Dionysiou 450*, *Kōnstamonitou 19 (20)*, *M. Lavras Θ. 88* from the fifteenth century, *Athens 1190*, *Timiou Staurou 615 (757)* from the sixteenth century, and *Athens 667* from the seventeenth century. But even in other codices, such as *Paris (Coisl.) 213* from the eleventh century, as well as *Athens 664* and *Sinai 995* from the fifteenth century, the "Blessed is the kingdom . . ." is implied or added in the margin by another hand.

The service of unction, due to its length and its frequent use, was expected to undergo great corruption. In the manuscripts, an unimaginable multitude of variations exist, both before the formation of the taxis contained in the printed Euchologia in use (of

94. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε..."

95. "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία..."

96. А. А. Дмитриевский, *Εὐχολόγια*, vol. 2 of Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся въ библиотекахъ Православного Востока (Кіевъ: Т. Корчакъ-Новицкаго, 1901).

97. Παναγιώτης Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 2 vols. (Ἀθῆναι: n.p., 1950–1955), 1:97–191.

which we gave a very general picture above) but also after it, even up until nowadays. Matins was condensed into nearly only its moveable parts, ceased to be a real Matins, and became a long introduction for the service as such.[98] Afterwards the mystery of unction was conducted; no dismissal and termination of Matins took place. The Divine Liturgy ceased being celebrated and the fourteen readings and seven prayers which were intended for seven different persons, remained to be read by one, usually hastily, in especially difficult circumstances for a service, in homes, near sick and dying people, and on Great Wednesday, together with the other long services of this par excellence liturgically laden day. In baptism and marriage, "Blessed is the kingdom . . ." was preserved. We only find it here in quite a few manuscripts, which, even though they do not provide for the celebration of a Divine Liturgy, preserve the enarxis of the sacramental part with "Blessed is the kingdom . . . ." However, it was also preserved in some places by old local tradition. This oftentimes preserves correct elements that were lost in printed editions. Local tradition has a better liturgical memory.

313

Can unction be celebrated in a home by one priest?

314

During the celebration of the mystery of unction by one priest, are all the prayers, epistle readings, and gospel readings read, or can they be omitted? If yes, which are omitted?

There is no doubt that when the service of unction originally consisted of one or two prayers, it was celebrated by one priest, or, occasionally, by more priests, just as the other services and mysteries. Gradually the custom became prevalent for it to be performed by

98. In vigils on Mount Athos, at the beginning of lauds, relics are exposed for veneration followed by an anointing with oil from the oil-lamp(s) of the sanctuary or even those before the icons for the feast or the saint being celebrated. This anointing during lauds may suggest that at one time unction was administered and that this Athonite practice is a "liturgical memory" of an association between unction and Matins.

more priests. This practice resulted from a misinterpretation, or rather a literal interpretation, of the passage from the Catholic Epistle of Saint James (Iakōvos) the Brother of God (τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου) (5:14–15), which is also the first witness for the mystery of unction: "Is any among you sick? Let him call for the presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord . . . ." Saint James (Iakōvos) writes in the plural: "the presbyters . . . let them pray . . . anointing."[99] The presbyters, who would perform the service, ought, literally, not to be one but more than one. This notion began to influence the composition of the service. Every presbyter had to have something particular to say; a reading, an ektenēs, a prayer. Thus, the service begins to develop. Troparia, readings, petitions, and prayers are added.

The fully developed service basically contained the litany of peace, the consecratory prayer "Lord, who in your mercy and compassion . . . ,"[100] epistle and gospel readings (the first set of readings of the printed edition), the ektenēs, the prayer "O You who are without beginning, everlasting, holy of holies . . ."[101] (up until "for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven"[102]) and its exclamation "For yours it is to show mercy and save us . . . ,"[103] the anointing of the one sick with the prayer "O Holy Father, physician of our souls and bodies . . ."[104] that accompanies it, the absolution prayer "O Holy King, compassionate and rich in mercy . . . ,"[105] and the dismissal. These prayers are distinguished by their brevity, simplicity, and suitability of expression. Up until the twelfth century, the service basically kept to the content above but was interwoven with the Divine Liturgy, as we saw in the answer to the previous question. The augmentations were not yet significant but the tendency for development of the service is easily discernable in the manuscripts. The participation of many priests required it.

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99. "τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους... προσευξάσθωσαν... ἀλείψαντες."
100. "Κύριε ὁ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει καὶ τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς..."
101. "Ἄναρχε, ἀδιάδοχε, ἅγιε ἁγίων..."
102. "εἰς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν κληρονομίαν."
103. "Σὸν γάρ ἐστιν τὸ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν ἡμᾶς..."
104. "Πάτερ ἅγιε, ἰατρὲ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν..."
105. "Βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, εὔσπλαγχνε καὶ πολυέλεε..."

The apogee of the service of unction begins in the thirteenth century. According to the testimony of Patriarch Nikēphoros of Constantinople (1260–1261), his predecessor Patriarch Arsenios Autōreianos (1255–1260) determined that unction is to be necessarily performed by seven priests and prescribed special prayers for each one. Arsenios did not invent either the seven priests or the addition of new prayers. Perhaps his contribution consisted in imposing and ritually regulating the participation of the seven presbyters. In a manuscript of Sinai (under number 973), almost a century earlier (in 1153), we encounter this tendency in development. Therefore, to the preexisting elements of unction were added six more prayers with the ekteneis that introduce them, and a little later also six pairs of readings with their prokeimena and allēlouaria. Thus, the new service assumed septenary form: seven priests, seven epistle readings, seven gospel readings, seven ekteneis, and seven prayers. One look into the manuscripts (see P. Trempelas, "The Service of Holy Unction," *The Small Euchologion,* Athens 1950, pp. 97–191)[106] can inform us as to what degree of length the service reached. A complete Matins, a multitude of troparia and prayers, readings, antiphons, psalms, ekteneis and synaptes, seven anointings, and seven liturgical actions,[107] caused the service of unction to become the most complicated and most lengthy service of the Byzantine Euchologion.

Why now was the number of priests determined to be seven? Certainly, because of the sacredness of the number. Symeōn of Thessaloniki recapitulates the relevant tradition and justifies it, but while also having his reservations: "And while the Brother of God does not mention the number of them [of the presbyters], custom taught for seven to be invited I suppose on account of the gifts of the Spirit being numbered seven in Isaiah;[108] or on account of those seven old priests of the Law who sounded the trumpets around Jericho seven times by divine command and struck down the walls as if they destroyed both this evil city and the stubborn walls of the heights of

106. Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 1:97–191.
107. "τῶν λειτουργιῶν."
108. Isa 11:2–3.

sin;[109] or even as the soul being dead in imitation of the prophet as in the case of the child of that Shunammite woman, the priests awaken the soul when praying seven times just as indeed also when Elisaios returned seven times and prayed seven times;[110] or even as Elias praying seven times again opened the heavens closed by sins and brought down rain, also when praying seven times the priests do away with the drought of sin, they open heaven when stretching forth the key of grace according to Peter, and they bring down as rain the mercy of forgiveness from God.[111] As it seems to me, this is the meaning regarding seven" (*Dialogue*, chapter 283).[112] All of the manuscripts that contain the septenary service mention the seven priests, either in its title ("Service of the holy oil sanctified by seven priests,"[113] "chanted by seven presbyters,"[114] "the heptapapadon,"[115] and so forth) or in standard rubrics ("seven presbyters having gathered together,"[116] "the seven priests having gathered together,"[117] "it is necessary . . . for seven priests to be invited,"[118] "seven presbyters are gathered,"[119] and so forth) or imply it from the individual titles of the prayers or of the readings ("the first priest . . . the seventh priest").[120]

However, quickly the burdensome nature of the septenary service of unction became apparent. Its unusual length, its frequent use, its celebration at the homes of the sick, and above all the requirement for the participation in it of seven priests quickly lead to an impasse. It appears that the connection with the Divine Liturgy succumbed first to the pressure of things. Afterwards the form of the

109. Josh 6:1–20.
110. 4 Kingdoms 4:11–37.
111. 3 Kingdoms 18:1–46; Matt 16:19.
112. PG 155:516d–517a.
113. "Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐλαίου ἁγιαζομένου ὑπὸ ἑπτὰ ἱερέων."
114. "ψαλλομένου ὑπὸ ἑπτὰ πρεσβυτέρων."
115. "τὸ ἑπταπάπαδον." This term is another name for the unction service and alludes to the fact that seven (ἑπτα [ἑπτά]) priests (πάπαδον [παπάδες]) celebrate.
116. "συναχθέντων ἑπτὰ πρεσβυτέρων."
117. "συναχθέντες οἱ ἑπτὰ πρεσβύτεροι."
118. "ὀφείλει ... καλεῖσθαι ἑπτὰ ἱερεῖς."
119. "συνάγονται οἱ ἑπτὰ ἱερεῖς."
120. "ὁ α' ἱερεύς ... ὁ ζ' ἱερεύς."

service's celebration succumbed, which was also published in printed editions, which contain only a portion of the entire hymnological and euchological output regarding unction. After this, the manner of its celebration succumbed. As we saw in the previous answer, in an effort to preserve all the elements that had remained, they were all said but in a continuous manner without Matins being celebrated and without prokeimena, allēlouaria, and so forth being chanted.

But practice also proved that the number of priests was excessive, especially in villages, where it was impossible for seven priests to be found. While the *Codex Sinai 973* requires seven priests ("seven priests are gathered"), it also notes that "if it also happens seven priests are not on hand, two or three perform the service." The same also is the case for *Codex Esphigmenou 208* from the sixteenth century, which prescribes that the "seven priests, or even by three out of necessity" celebrate unction. Symeōn of Thessaloniki likewise recognizes this "oikonomia" in the non-observance of the number seven. "But in some cases where there is a scarcity of priests, even only three are invited. And one must not reject this. For first it will be by the power of the Trinity; next also by the fact again in the witness and proclamation of the Trinity from Elias, when he raised the dead son of Saraphthia after praying three times and falling upon him three times.[121] But even in some cases, more than seven priests assemble in proof of greater faith and zeal. But one must not concern oneself regarding the number; the number is not recorded. Except although it is not recorded, it is necessary to preserve the ancient tradition. And let there be seven as an ancient custom, but, if necessary, three at the minimum" (*Dialogue*, chapter 283).[122] He considers unacceptable the further reduction of the number of priests: "Let not one presbyter perform unction because as it is written concerning the bishop for him not to be ordained by one, so also concerning unction, for it not to be performed by one presbyter. 'Let him call the presbyters of the church,' it says, and not one presbyter, 'and let them pray over him anointing him with oil'" (*Dialogue*, chapter 283).[123] To the

121. 3 Kingdoms 17:8-24.
122. PG 155:517a–517b.
123. PG 155:517b–517c.

question of Gabriēl of Pentapolis, "Is it possible for one priest to perform unction?" he also again responds negatively: "One priest must not perform unction since it says, 'Let him call the presbyters of the church,' not one presbyter; and it is necessary to preserve the taxis. Therefore, just as one bishop does not ordain a bishop, neither does one presbyter perform unction" (*Question 48*).[124]

But neither did solution of the three priests also prove feasible. In the difficult circumstances that the Orthodox people endured during the Tourkokratia,[125] it was impossible for services to take place with so many clerical personnel. Blessed Nikodēmos of the Holy Mountain very rightly raises the issue in a footnote on canon thirteen of the Council in Carthage. The canon requires "many" bishops to perform the ordination of a bishop. "If a need arises, three bishops . . . shall ordain the bishop." By extension, Saint Nikodēmos also applies the canon to unction and arrives at one priest: "In this way, it has been conceded for unction to be performed in some villages and places of Bulgaria, or even another eparchy, not only by three priests, but even by two or one on account of the scarcity of priests where they are in those areas, which is to say, on account of necessity. For it is better for the mystery to be performed even by only one priest, instead of the Christians there being deprived of it altogether and most of all the sick, and at the same time also being deprived of the remission of sins, which it grants them. After all, if one priest alone performs all the other mysteries, even greater ones than unction, why is he not able alone to perform unction? That which Saint James (Iakōvos) writes, 'Let him call the presbyters of the church,' certainly means those who are found there, and not those who are not found. Until there is no necessity, this is not subject to canons and rules" (*Rudder*, Athens 1957, p. 470).[126] This is also done nowadays. The practice reverted to the original tradition.

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124. PG 155:893c.

125. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

126. Ἀγάπιος Ἱερομόναχος (Λεονάρδος) καὶ Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς μιᾶς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1982), 470.

However, in practice, the problem arises that the second question poses. Would one priest also read the seven pairs of readings, the seven ekteneis, and the seven prayers, namely, was it intended for them to be said by all the priests taking part in the service according to its later septenary development? It is no secret that in contemporary practice quite a few arbitrary adjustments are done. "The length of the service makes nearly impossible its full and precise celebration, especially in homes. Hence, almost all priests engage in abridgments and omissions that are not always on point. In this way, for example, the prayers are read by many priests inaudibly or are entirely omitted, while the petition is repeated after each gospel reading, but such an abridgment deprives the mystery of its primary element, the prayers, which, with the oil, constitute the very 'matter' of the mystery. For this reason, we find more preferable the omission of the canon and the petitions after each gospel reading, the reduction of the troparia following the consecratory prayer, and the abridgment of the prayers, which, however, must be read within earshot of those present" (K. Papagiannēs, *Liturgics – Teleturgics,* General Department of Ecclesiastical Education, Athens 1973, pp. 351–352).[127]

He who responds to these questions has an obligation to repeat the words of Symeōn of Thessaloniki: "Let them [the priests] say all that has been given to them to say, because all things that are from the Fathers are of the Holy Spirit" (*Dialogue*, chapter 283).[128] This does not mean that the problem is ignored, nor, of course, that it is solved. However, it places the issue on a basis theoretically correct and without danger in practice to the integrity of the service. The Church has competent bodies that are duty bound to be aware of, to study, and to resolve the problems that arise. Otherwise, the corruption of the services is unavoidable. Allow us only two thoughts. With old practice as a guide, the lengthy service of unction can be sufficiently alleviated. The

127. Κωνσταντῖνος Παπαγιάννης, *Λειτουργική-Τελετουργική. Βοήθημα διὰ τοὺς ἱεροσπουδαστὰς μέσων καὶ ἀνωτέρων ἱερατικῶν σχολῶν* (Ἀθήνα: Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις Ἐκκλ. Παιδείας, 1973), 351–352. Kōnstantinos Papagiannēs (1929–2014).

128. PG 155:517b.

Matins is undoubtedly a subsequent and secondary element in relation to the main part of the service, which begins, as we saw, with "Blessed is the kingdom . . ." and the litany of peace. The Matins can be celebrated, according to the ancient practice, separately. As we saw, the main part of the service of unction includes "Blessed is the kingdom . . . ," the litany of peace, the consecratory prayer, the first pair of readings, the ektenēs with the first prayer (up until, "for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven"), the absolution prayers, and the anointing with the prayer "Holy Father . . . ." Out of the remaining six pairs of readings with their ekteneis and prayers, it could be the case that as many might be said as there are presbyters taking part in the service. It would be good to study the possibility of reconnecting unction with the Divine Liturgy, either the full Liturgy or the Presanctified, according to the rubrics of the ancient codices, when unction is of course celebrated in the temple. "For holy communion is the end of every rite and the seal of every divine mystery" (Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 282).[129] This was the spirit and the letter of practice before the thirteenth century—the requirement for continuation of the correct tradition. However, for such serious initiatives, neither the writer nor the priests are qualified.

315

What is the prokeimenon of the gospel reading for the Matins of Palm Sunday? Why is it not written in the Triōdion?[130]

The third verse of Psalm 8 ("Out of the mouths of infants and nursing babies . . .")[131] is a prokeimenon of the gospel reading for the Matins of Palm Sunday, according to all the printed Typika (Saint Sabas, Kōnstantinos, Violakēs) and according to all the printed Triōdia and

129. PG 155:512d.

130. On the prokeimenon in this volume, see questions 307, 340, 344, 398, and 399.

131. "Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων..."

Anthologia.[132] This verse prophetically refers to the doxology of the children during the triumphal entrance of the Lord into Jerusalem (Matt 21:15), and it is used with this meaning by the Lord himself (Matt 21:16).

The manuscript Typika, old and late, provide for this prokeimenon, such as the Typikon of the Monastery of Evergetis (*Codex Athens 788* from the twelfth century),[133] the Typikon of the Monastery of the Savior in Messina (*Codex Messina 115* from the year 1131),[134] and the manuscript Typika of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain, and others.

The prokeimenon above does not exist in the edition of M. Saliveros, which was virtually the only published edition that was used in our temples prior to the publication of the Apostolikē Diakonia (1960), as well as in octavo size editions that depend on the edition of Saliveros ("G. Gegles–M. Saliveros" and "Phōs"). The omission of the prokeimenon is obviously due to a typographical oversight, one of many from these editions.

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132. Νικόδημος Σκρέττας, ed., *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἁγίας Λαύρας τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα* (Ἱερουσαλήμ: Ἱερὰ καὶ Σεβασμία Λαύρα Σάββα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου Ἱερουσαλήμ, 2012), 321; Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βυζάντιος, Πρωτοψάλτης, *Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*, 2nd ed., 7th printing (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: Γεώργιος Σεϊτανίδης, 1874), 232; Γ. Βιολάκης, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1921), 353. A Triōdion (pl., Triōdia) is a liturgical book that contains hymnographic compositions and scriptural readings, as well as prescriptions of patristic texts, to be chanted and read in sacred services during the period of Great Lent and the preceding preparatory weeks from the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee up until Great Saturday. The name of the book is derived from the three-ode canon. An Anthologion (pl., Anthologia), is a popular book for following divine services. The content is not standardized and may even include Byzantine notation.

133. Robert H. Jordan, ed. and trans., *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, March to August, The Movable Cycle*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.6 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2005), 454–455.

134. Miguel Arranz, ed., *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensi Gr 115, A.D. 1131, Introduction, Text Critique et Notes*, OCA 185 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1969), 228–229.

For the provisional remedying of this deficiency, the complete prokeimenon is as follows:

Προκείμενον, ἦχος δ',	Prokeimenon, tone four,
ψαλμὸς η'.	Psalm 8.
Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ	Out of the mouths of infants
θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον (δίς).	and nursing babies, you prepared praise (twice).
Στίχ. Κύριε ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς	Verse. O Lord, our Lord God,
θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ	how wondrous is your name in all
γῇ.	the earth!
Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων . . .	Out of the mouths of infants . . .

For the history of this matter, we note that in the *Codex Sinai 15* from the tenth century, another prokeimenon in the fourth tone is encountered: "All the nations shall greatly rejoice. Verse. O Sing to the Lord a new song."[135] Obviously preserved here modified was the ancient Jerusalemite prokeimenon: "The mountains shall greatly rejoice at the presence of the Lord. Verse. O Sing to the Lord a new song"[136] (Psalm 97), which was chanted before the gospel readings during the procession of Palm Sunday, from the Mount of Olives to the temple of the Resurrection, according to the Jerusalemite–Georgian Kanonarion from the seventh century and according to the Typikon of the temple of the Resurrection from the year 1122, where, however, other prokeimena are also mentioned, among which we also find "Out of the mouths of infants . . . ."[137]

316

For baptism of adults, what taxis must be followed after the baptism for the clothing, the anointing, the tonsure, washing, and so forth?

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135. "Ἀγαλλιάσονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Στιχ. Ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ᾆσμα καινόν."

136. "Τὰ ὄρη ἀγαλλιάσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου Κυρίου. Στίχ. Ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ᾆσμα καινόν."

137. Α. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας* (St. Petersburg: B. Κιρσπάουμ, 1894), 2:1–2.

We have repeatedly written regarding the taxis for the service of holy baptism (see answers to questions 87 and 193).

Inasmuch as this concerns adults, the observance of the taxis, as set out in the Euchologion, does not present any difficulties. After the triple immersion and emersion and "Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven . . ."[138] (washing of the priest's hands), the prayer of the myron ("Blessed are you, O Lord...")[139] can be read, the anointing takes place, and afterwards the clothing ("The servant of God is clothed . . . ,"[140] "Grant to me a shining chitōn . . ."[141]). During the time of the complete clothing of the newly illumined, the katabasies can be chanted as usual, and after this the giving of the lighted candle can follow ("Let your light so shine . . . ,"[142] see the answer to question 43), the hymn "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ . . . ,"[143] the readings, the ektenēs, and the remaining elements from the Divine Liturgy follow. The old taxis differs only because it places the clothing before the anointing. The newer "Small Euchologion" of the Apostolikē Diakonia edition (1968) places the anointing first, according to the prevailing modern taxis. This is more practical.

In the baptism of adults, it is necessary for the correct taxis to be observed and for the initiation of the newly illumined with his or her participation in the Divine Liturgy and the approach to holy communion to be completed. As for the washing and the tonsure, I think, in the case of adults, that it is necessary for us to return, also here, to the proper practice and for them to be done separately from baptism, during the seventh day. At that time, the prayers accompanying them will be read, according to the taxis of the Euchologion. If it is necessary, they can be read after the prayer behind the ambōn of the Divine Liturgy and before the dismissal. At that time, the washing and the tonsure will take place, and not blended with the service of the baptism, as it became prevalent to be done to infants.

138. "Μακάριοι, ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι..."
139. "Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν..."
140. "Ἐνδύεται ὁ δοῦλος..."
141. "Χιτῶνά μοι παράσχου φωτεινόν..."
142. "Οὕτω λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν...," (Matt 5:16).
143. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε..."

Similarly, also what takes place before holy baptism ("The prayer for the making of a catechumen," the three exorcisms, the prayer "O Master, He who is, Lord God . . . ,"[144] the renunciation, the joining, and the confession of faith) also again can, or rather must, according to the old correct practice, precede the baptism in pre-baptismal synaxes, which can be done, consistent with the correct ancient taxis, during the preceding days or during the evening of the preceding day. Thus, baptism together with the Divine Liturgy will not form an excessively long service. As long as adults are being baptized, reasons do not occur for the application of "oikonomia" during the celebration of holy baptism, which became prevalent due to infant baptism.

317

Can the priest perform the proskomidē before taking kairos and before putting on sacred vestments?

No. According to the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* of Patriarch Philotheos, and all the manuscripts, the proskomidē is performed after the service of the "kairos" and after the full vesting of the deacon and the priest with their vestments.[145] Their rubrics are characteristic:

144. "Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα, Κύριε Θεέ..."

145. Philotheos Kokkinos (Φιλόθεος Κόκκινος) was a patriarch of Constantinople (r. 1353–1354/1355, 1364–1376) and while abbot of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos authored the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy (Διάταξις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας)* and the *Diataxis of Hierodeaconship (Διάταξις περὶ τῆς Ἱεροδιακονίας)*. Through the work's popularity and influence as a ceremonial, the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* canonized the Athonite rubrics for the Eucharist that came to govern the present celebration of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy. This discussion is based on Robert Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *DOP* 42 (1988): 191–194. Phountoulēs used the *Diataxis* as one of the sources for a modern publication of a Hierodiakonikon, *Ἱεροδιακονικόν, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν διάταξιν τῆς Ἱεροδιακονίας εἰς τὸν ἑσπερινὸν καὶ τὸν ὄρθρον εἰς τὰς τρεῖς λειτουργίας* (Ἅγιον Ὄρος: Ἔκδ. Πανσέληνος, 1989). The text of the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy (Codex Panteleēmonos 6277-770)* is published in Παναγιώτης Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας*, Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch–Neugriechischen Philologie no. 15 (Ἀθῆναι: Ἡ ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπιτροπὴ πρὸς ἀναθεώρησιν καὶ ἔκδοσιν τῶν λειτουργικῶν βιβλίων, 1935), 1–16. In addition, also while abbot, Philotheos authored the *Diataxis of Hierodeaconship (Διάταξις περὶ τῆς Ἱεροδιακονίας)*, which provides direction on how the

"after the priest and the deacon are vested," "after putting on the sacred vestments," "the priest proceeds to the holy proskomidē, after having put on all the sacred vestments," and other similar rubrics. Symeōn of Thessaloniki in his *Dialogue* gives us precisely the same taxis: the "kairos" precedes the vesting and afterwards the proskomidē is performed (chapter 83ff.).[146] All the printed Euchologia and the Hieratika likewise place the proskomidē after the "kairos" and the vesting.

Even in the earlier period, well before the proskomidē was transferred to the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, when it was performed exactly before the great entrance, during the time of the chanting of the cheroubikon, also again, the priest wore his vestments.

During the service of the prothesis, the offering of our gifts to God takes place. The entire performance of the proskomidē constitutes a miniature of the Divine Liturgy and theologically and liturgically fits into its entire framework. Nikolaos Kabasilas[147] characteris-

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deacon serves with a priest in Vespers, Matins, and Liturgy. The text of the *Diataxis* may be found in PG 154:745–766. When referring to the "Diataxis of Philotheos," unless otherwise noted, Phountoulēs is referring to the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy*.

146. Steven Hawkes-Teeples, ed. and trans., *St. Symeon of Thessalonika, The Liturgical Commentaries*, vol. 168 of *Studies and Texts* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011), 181ff.

147. Nikolaos Chamaetos Kabasilas (Νικόλαος Χαμαετὸς Καβάσιλας) (b. ca. 1320–1324, d. after 1391) lived in Thessaloniki as a theologian. His writings on the Liturgy continue to exercise a major influence on Orthodox liturgical thought. The Sources Chrétiennes edition will be used for a text of his liturgical commentary, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας (Explanation of the Divine Liturgy)*. The paragraph numbers of Kabasilas's work will be given consistent with the Sources Chrétiennes edition, which differs from those cited by Phountoulēs. For an English translation, see J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty, trans., *Nicholas Cabasilas, A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977). For an assessment of his work, see Ἀθανάσιος Ἀ. Ἀγγελόπουλος, *Νικόλαος Χαμαετὸς Καβάσιλας, Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἵδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελέτων, 1970) and René Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie VIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966), 215–244. In addition, the Sources Chrétiennes edition will also be used for his work, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ τελουμένων, (Concerning the rites in the Divine Liturgy)*. According to Bornert, this latter work is a summary of his longer, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, (Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins*, 218).

tically observes: "What takes place in the prothesis in the bread being offered is a narrative in action of the Passion of Christ; for it takes place in remembrance of Him, inasmuch as He suffered for us and died. And in this way, the death of the Lord is proclaimed here, not only by what the priests say but also by what they do" (*Concerning the rites in the Divine Liturgy*, 1).[148] And elsewhere, he speaks about the offering of the bread and the wine during the prothesis, through which these offerings "both become and are called precious gifts to God." "For every offering of the gifts is done in remembrance of the Lord and through everything His death takes place" (*Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 2, 5 and 10, 1).[149] What is said at the beginning of the proskomidē, "In remembrance of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ,"[150] does not only concern the actions of the proskomidē but is the beginning and the heading of the whole Liturgy that begins from this point: "And he does not say this about the bread alone, but also about the entire rite, as if beginning at the end of the sacred-service," or according to another writing, "as beginning here the sacred-service" (*Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 7.2).[151]

According to the above, therefore, the prothesis is not a negligible service, but rather an organic part of the Divine Liturgy that was transferred to its beginning for practical reasons, without this diminishing its importance or severing its indissoluble connection with the Liturgy. The priest always performs it, after first he asks for forgiveness and strengthening from God for the celebration of the mystery without condemnation, and after he puts on the sacred vestments that are provided for by the ecclesiastical taxis for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. The prothesis of the gifts is included

148. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Concerning the rites in the Divine Liturgy*, 1 in *Nicholas Cabasilas: Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, eds. René Bornert, Jean Gouillard, and Pierre Périchon, and trans. Sévérien Salaville, 2nd edition, SC 4bis (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 368–369.

149. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 2.5, 10.1 in *Nicholas Cabasilas: Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, eds. René Bornert, Jean Gouillard, and Pierre Périchon, and trans. Sévérien Salaville, 2nd edition, SC 4bis (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 72–73, 92–93.

150. "Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ."

151. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 7.2 (SC 4bis:304–305). The second quote is unattributed.

in the "appointed service"[152] and "bloodless sacred-service"[153] of the prayer of the "kairos."

318

In the Liturgy for Theophany, after the small entrance, the mēnaion reads: "Eisodikon, 'Blessed is he who comes...'[154] 'When you were baptized in the Jordan . . .'[155] 'Glory both now.'[156] The kontakion, 'You appeared today to the universe . . .'[157]" (edition of the Apostolikē Diakonia 1961, p. 87). Why before the kontakion, especially only during this feast, must the "Glory both now" be chanted?

As it is well known, the Divine Liturgy begins with three antiphons. Each antiphon is introduced with a synaptē—a long one for the first, a short one for the other two—and with a prayer that is concluded with an exclamation. Each one of the three antiphons consists of a psalm, which is chanted antiphonally with an ephymnion. Nowadays, the entire psalms are not chanted, as in the ancient times, but only three to four chosen verses (short antiphons). We will speak at length regarding these psalms/verses in another answer in connection with another question that refers to this subject. For the present question, only one element is basic, that each antiphon from the three of the Liturgy (just as also every other antiphon that was chanted in the ancient parish service—because this manner of antiphonal chanting is drawn from there) was concluded, without any exception, with the so-called small doxology, namely, "Glory to the Father . . . Both now . . . ."[158]

If we pay attention to the antiphons of the Divine Liturgy, the daily ones ("It is good to acknowledge the Lord . . .")[159] or of feasts (Nativity, Theophany, Pascha, Ascension, and so forth), just as they

152. "προκειμένη διακονία."
153. "ἀναίμακτο ἱερουργία."
154. "Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος..."
155. "Ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτιζομένου σου..."
156. "Δόξα καὶ νῦν."
157. "Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον τῇ οἰκουμένῃ..."
158. "Δόξα Πατρί... Καὶ νῦν..."
159. "Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ..." (Psalm 91:2).

are recorded in our liturgical books and are chanted in our temples, we shall see that only the first two antiphons are always concluded with "Glory both now." Does the third antiphon constitute an exception to the general rule and not have the common conclusion with all the others? No. The "Glory both now" of the third antiphon was chanted after the entrance. In other words, the entrance does not take place after the end, but during the chanting of the third antiphon. The psalm is continued even after the entrance. If we pay attention, we will observe that the eisodikon is nothing other than a verse of the psalm of the third antiphon. For example, the common eisodikon, "Come, let us worship . . . ,"[160] is the sixth verse of Psalm 94 ("O come, let us rejoice in the Lord . . ."),[161] which is the psalm for the third antiphon. The eisodikon of Pascha, "In congregations, bless the Lord . . . ,"[162] is verse 27 of Psalm 67 ("Let God arise, . . ."),[163] for the third antiphon of Pascha. The eisodikon for Theophany, "Blessed is he who comes . . . God is the Lord . . . ,"[164] are verses 26a–27a of Psalm 117 ("Give thanks to the Lord . . ."),[165] of the third antiphon of the feast day. After the verse of the eisodikon, the chanting of the psalm was interrupted and its conclusion remained to be chanted, "Glory both now." At "Glory both now," the troparia were inserted in different forms, either the apolytikion at "Glory" and the kontakion at "both now . . . ," or the apolytikion after the eisodikon and the kontakion and so forth at "Glory both now." It is characteristic that even in contemporary practice, the kontakia are always theotokia, except if we find ourselves in a period of a feast of the Lord, namely, we have the same form that is followed in other instances where series of troparia are concluded with theotokia. The ancient Typika and the manuscripts always have this taxis. This taxis is also observed nowadays on the Holy Mountain and in the Slavic churches. However, in Greek parish churches, "Glory both now" slowly ceased to be chanted and gradually was also omitted from the

160. "Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν..."
161. "Δεῦτε ἀγαλλιασώμεθα τῷ Κυρίῳ..."
162. "Ἐν ἐκκλησίαις εὐλογεῖτε τὸν Θεόν..."
163. "Ἀναστήτω ὁ Θεός..."
164. "Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος...Θεὸς Κύριος..."
165. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ..."

published editions of our liturgical books. In the edition mentioned by the question, "Glory both now" remained before the kontakion for Theophany as an islet/remnant of the ancient practice.

Why "Glory both now" ceased to be chanted at the end of the third antiphon before the kontakion is difficult to be determined. Perhaps, since it became prevalent for more than one apolytikion to be chanted, this section suffered laxity and the unity of the chanting before and after the entrance was forgotten. The chanting of the typika with the Beatitudes, namely, the monastic taxis that was later introduced into the parishes, may have also had an influence. The Beatitudes are concluded with "Glory both now" before the entrance. Thus, the troparia remained semi-independent since they were detached from their original unity. However, they were also preserved in the monastic taxis together with the eisodikon of the parish taxis. This fragmentation was also extended to the antiphons. Thus, however, the third antiphon remains truncated without the short doxology that concludes it.

319

During the Sunday Liturgies, is the hypakoē of the tone also chanted after the entrance?

According to the old taxis that is observed even up until nowadays on the Holy Mountain and in the Slavic churches, the resurrectional hypakoē of the tone is chanted every Sunday during the Divine Liturgy after the apolytikia and before the kontakion. Similarly, in Chalkidiki, and perhaps in other areas, the chanting of the hypakoē is preserved. In the parishes, as it is well known, only the hypakoē of Pascha is chanted, "When they who with Mary came anticipating the dawn . . . ,"[166] in the place precisely where the hypakoes[167] for all the Sundays of the year were chanted, although this—namely, the chanting of the hypakoē during Pascha—is not attested to by the ancient Typika, such as, for example, by the Typikon of Saint Sophia from the tenth century and of the Evergetis from the twelfth

166. "Προλαβοῦσαι τὸν ὄρθρον αἱ περὶ Μαριάμ..."
167. This is the plural form (ὑπακοές, αἱ).

century. From this it appears that even the chanting of the Sunday hypakoē during the Divine Liturgy is a relatively modern practice and either did not become prevalent everywhere or did not manage to survive perhaps because it ceased also being chanted in Matins.

320

When the priest serves alone without a deacon, where are the preparatory elements for the gospel reading of the Divine Liturgy and of the Matins said, from the beautiful gate towards the people, or from the holy table towards the east?

321

During the service of Matins, where is "The Theotokos and Mother of the light . . ."[168] said, looking towards the people, towards the icon of the Theotokos, or towards the holy table?

In the two instances above, inconsistency is observed among celebrants, and this is because clear relevant rubrics do not exist.

Both the preparatory elements for the gospel reading and "The Theotokos and Mother of the light . . ." are exhortations that are directed to the church community, in which the priest himself is also included, inasmuch as all the phrases mentioned above are composed in the first-person plural. It is more natural for them to be said turned facing the people, since the priest or deacon is dialoguing with them and calls them to respond to his exhortations. Thus, the contact of priest and people is better preserved, and the dialogue has the proper personal and psychological dimension. It would be more correct only in the case of the eōthinon gospel reading, for the third command, "The reading is from . . . Let us attend,"[169] to be said from the place of the Gospel book's reading, namely, from the right side of the holy table, since this command also combines the title of the reading, and the text essentially begins from it. Both during the gospel reading for the Matins of feasts and during the Divine Liturgy, the priest usually picks up the Gospel book from the holy

168. "Τὴν Θεοτόκον καὶ μητέρα τοῦ φωτός..."
169. "Ἐκ τοῦ κατά... Πρόσχωμεν."

table at "And with your spirit,"[170] and from the beautiful gate begins the reading from, "The reading is from . . . ." I believe that this also is the most orderly form.

The *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* of Patriarch Philotheos, which presupposes a deacon's concelebration, prescribes that the priest says the customary "Wisdom, arise . . ."[171] "standing behind the holy table [namely, the synthronon], if indeed he has space, and if not then in front and looking towards the west" (*Codex Panteleēmonos 6277-770*).[172] The rubrics of the manuscripts and printed editions repeat nearly the same things. As for the gospel reading of Matins, we have an indirect witness; the opening of the doors of the bēma during the prokeimenon, "Let everything that has breath . . . ,"[173] which presupposes that the priest or the deacon will come out from the opened gate in order to direct commands to the people. The opening of the doors of the bēma during "The Theotokos and Mother of the light . . ." can also be viewed as such an indirect indication.

On the basis of the evidence above, the archbishop of Athens Chrysostomos (of Philippi and Neapolis) of blessed memory, in the *Hierotelestikon* (Athens 1948), prescribes that the deacon says, "And that we may be deemed worthy to hear . . . ,"[174] for the eōthinon gospel reading "while coming a little towards the doors of the bēma and looking towards the people," and the priest says, "The reading is from . . . ," at the right side of the holy table. Similarly, the deacon again says, "The Theotokos and Mother of the light . . . ," "before the beautiful gate . . . and looking towards the people" (see pp. 70–71 and 73).[175] The same also certainly applies for the priest.

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170. "Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου."
171. "Σοφία, ὀρθοί..."
172. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 8.
173. "Πᾶσα πνοή..."
174. "Καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταξιωθῆναι ἡμᾶς..."
175. Χρυσόστομος Φιλίππων καὶ Νεαπόλεως, *Ἱεροτελεστικόν* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1948), 70–71, 73.

322

Which dismissal must be done during the service of the Salutations,[176] the usual one or the one for Compline with "Peace be to all . . . O most merciful Master . . ."[177]?

The Salutations of the Theotokos, which are chanted during the Fridays of Great Lent, do not constitute, as it is well known, their own independent service, but are included in the service of the Small Compline. Consequently, their dismissal cannot be other than the dismissal for this service. Therefore, research must be directed precisely in this direction: What is the dismissal for Small Compline?

We all know that there are two services for Compline. The lengthy ancient service, the Great Compline, and the modern shorter service of the Small Compline. The Small Compline is an abridgment of the Great Compline and consists of a selection of the most essential elements of the old service. Do they also differ in their dismissal? According to the standard rubrics that are incorporated into the Triōdion (Monday of the First Week of the Fast), according to the Typika, and according to certain printed editions of the Hōrologion, the answer is yes. According to other editions of the Hōrologion, the answer is no.

The Triōdion notes: "It is necessary to know that most of the Typika as well as custom prescribe that after the final trisagion we all bow down to the ground and the priest says in a loud voice the prayer in the Great Vespers, 'O most merciful Master, Lord Jesus Christ our God,'[178] wherein we also have the dismissal." Moreover, the Typika of Kōnstantinos and of Violakēs provide for the dismissal above in the service of the Great Compline, and the customary dismissal, "May Christ our true God . . . ,"[179] in the service of the Small Compline (*Typikon* of Kōnstantinos, Constantinople 1842[2], pp. 214 and 216.[180]

176. "ἡ ἀκολουθία τῶν Χαιρετισμῶν."
177. "Εἰρήνη πᾶσι ... Δέσποτα πολυέλεε ..."
178. "Δέσποτα πολυέλεε, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν."
179. "Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν..."
180. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βυζάντιος, *Πρωτοψάλτης, Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικόν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*, 2nd ed. (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει:1842), 214, 216. This edition was unavailable for verification.

Typikon of Violakēs, edition of Saliveros, Athens 1921, pp. 333 and 335[181]). The published edition of the Hōrologion of Rome (1937) follows precisely the same rubric.[182] Another series again of published Hōrologia place the dismissal, "O most merciful Master . . . ," at the Great Compline, and simply note "and a dismissal" at the Small Compline, obviously meaning the customary dismissal "May Christ our true God . . ." (edition of Venice 1855, 1856, Apostolikē Diakonia 1963, 1967, and so forth). Consistent with the points above, "O most merciful Master . . ." for the Great Compline and "May Christ our true God . . ." for the Small Compline (and for the Salutations) are prescribed by the *Diataxis of the daily sacred services of Great Lent* of Emm. Pharlekas of blessed memory, Athens 1955[3], pp. 136 and 142, and by *The Akathistos Hymn to the Theotokos* of Chr. Enisleidēs, edition of B. Rēgopoulos, vol. 2, Thessaloniki 1967, pp. 49-50.[183] This taxis is also followed on the Holy Mountain and by all the priests who know ecclesiastical taxis well.

However, sometimes, "O most merciful Master..." is heard in the service of the Small Compline and specifically in the service of the Salutations, concerning which the question speaks. This is a matter of confusion, which is due to a custom acquired from the influence of the dismissal of the Great Compline or is due to the erroneous standard rubrics of certain published editions. Thus, the editions of the Hōrologion of Constantinople 1900, Athens–Patra (A. Pascha) 1915, Athens (M. Saliveros), n.d., as well as *The Great Lent* of "Phōs," Athens 1961, at the dismissal for the Small Compline, refer to pages where the dismissal for the Great Compline, namely, "O most merciful Master...," exists. In the manuscript Hōrologia, as far as I know, relevant clarifications did not exist. The dismissal was done on the basis of the rubrics from the Typika and "custom," just as we saw in

181. Γ. Βιολάκης, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος*, 1921), 333, 335.

182. *Ὡρολόγιον; Περιέχον τὴν ἡμερονύκτιον ἀκολουθίαν* (Rome: Τύποις Μονῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης, 1937).

183. Ἐμμανουὴλ Φαρλέκας, *Διάταξις τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἱερῶν ἀκολουθιῶν τῆς Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς* (2nd edition; Ἀθῆναι, n.p., 1955), 136, 142; Χρήστος Ἐνισλείδης, *Ἡ ἀκάθιστος εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον ὑμνῳδία* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1967), 49–50.

the note of the Triōdion. The old published Hōrologia added the special dismissal of Great Compline but left the usual rubric to the Small Compline. The effort made by some subsequent editors of publications to assist the priests when referring to the dismissal of the Great Compline, without paying attention to the difference, became a cause for confusion to occur in the two different dismissals.

Summarizing, according to the points above, the dismissal in the Great Compline is "Peace be to all. Let us bow our heads... O most merciful Master . . ." of the Litē of Great Vespers, and consequently, the dismissal in the Small Compline and the service of the Salutations of the Theotokos is the customary "May Christ our true God . . . ."

323

Why is the Holy Bread of the Presanctified Gifts placed in the artophorion inverted?

The Holy Bread that is reserved for the celebration of the Presanctified is placed inverted in the artophorion for purely practical reasons. Obviously, in order to be thus better aired or also in order that the Precious Blood does not drip on the artophorion. Both of these reasons are mentioned in relevant explanations.

The second reason is cited by the sacred teacher (ἱεροδιδάσκαλος) Daniēl Geōrgopoulos in his *Sacred Anthology*, Athens 1880[4], pp. 101–102: "Note that regarding the Presanctified Gifts in Great Lent, he wets the Divine Blood only on the incisions of the holy lance and places it in the artophorion upon the mousa, the seal down and crumb side up, in order that drops of the Precious Blood do not fall on the mousa."[184]

184. Δανιὴλ Γεωργόπουλος, *Ἱερὰ Ἀνθολογία: περιέχουσα ἑρμηνείαν ἐπὶ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν ἑπτὰ μυστηρίων τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἔτι δὲ διάφορα ἄλλα χρήσιμα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς ὁδηγίαν τοῦ εὐαγοῦς Ἱερατείου* (Venice: Ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τυπογραφίας Φραγκίσκου Ἀνδρεόλα, 1833; 5th ed.; Ἀθῆναι: Ν. Μιχαλόπουλος, 1898), 100. Although Phountoulēs cites the fourth edition, the text cited is the same in the fifth edition. Daniēl Geōrgopoulos (Δανιὴλ Γεωργόπουλος) was born in Zygovisti, a village in western Arcadia, lived in the first half of nineteenth century, and was a scholar, teacher, and preacher. He actively participat-

The *Diataxis* of Philotheos also provides for the inverted placement of the lamb on the paten during the prothesis of the Divine Liturgy, when the bread is still very moist: "And you place it [the lamb] inverted on the holy paten; when the deacon says, 'Sacrifice, master,' the priest sacrifices it crosswise while saying, 'Sacrificed is the Lamb of God . . . .' And he turns the other side upward, the one bearing the cross, in the event it is hot and steaming in any way. For let it then be placed inverted in order that it not cause moisture below" (*Codex Panteleēmonos 6277-770*, fourteenth century).[185] Quite a few modern codices also repeat the same rubric nearly verbatim. Certainly, some prescribe that the Holy Bread remains in this position (inverted) "until the great Entrance."

324

Many priests, during the dismissal for the Compline or the Midnight Office, when they come to "Let us pray...,"[186] go down one step of the solea. Why?

This is done by many priests according to ancient custom. In the monasteries, these two services are done in the litē before the closed

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ed in the Greek Revolution and was appointed "sacred preacher" (ιεροκῆρυξ) by the Holy Synod of Greece. His best-known work cited above was published in 1833 at Venice and was entitled, *Sacred Anthology: containing an explanation on the celebration of the seven mysteries of the Orthodox Church as well as various useful and necessary information for guiding the holy clergy.* This discussion of his life and work is based on Φώτιος Χρυσανθόπουλος, *Βίοι Πελοποννησίων Ἀνδρῶν* (Ἀθῆναι: Π.Δ. Σακελλάριος, 1888), 314, and Πολύκαρπος (Συνοδινός), "Δανιὴλ Γεωργόπουλος," *Θεολογία* 8 (1930): 72–78.

185. "Καὶ θεὶς αὐτὸν ὕπτιον ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ δίσκῳ, εἰπόντος τοῦ διακόνου· Θῦσον δέσποτα· θύει αὐτὸν σταυροειδῶς ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιλέγων: Θύεται ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.... Καὶ στρέφει τὸ ἕτερον μέρος ἐπάνω τὸ ἔχον τὸν σταυρόν, εἰ μήπως ἔνι ζέων καὶ ἀτμίζων," (Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 2–3); compare also the recently published text in *Διάταξις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας κατὰ τὰ Βατοπαιδινὰ Χειρόγραφα τοῦ ΙΔ' αἰῶνα* (Ἅγιον Ὄρος: Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου, 2019), 1:59, where a comma is placed between "ἐπάνω" and "τὸ ἔχον τὸν σταυρόν." Compare the discussion of the inversion and incision in Stelyios S. Muksuris, *Economia & Eschatology: Liturgical Mystagogy in the Byzantine Prothesis Rite* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2013), 124–126.

186. "Εὐξώμεθα..."

royal gate.[187] The priest stands there and does the dismissal looking to the west, towards the people. Namely, he is not mounting the steps of the solea before the beautiful gate. Therefore, this is perhaps about an imitation of the monastic practice that very much influences the taxis of the services of the daily cycle for parish temples. This can be one explanation.

The following is perhaps a more likely explanation. Mutual "forgiveness" (συγχώρησις) takes place between the Midnight Office and the Compline's dismissal ("May Christ our true God...")[188] and "Let us pray . . . ,"[189] the first time at the beginning of the day and the second at the end. The "forgiveness" during the Compline is described by various Typika and Hōrologia and is also observed even nowadays in the monasteries. They note at this point for the Midnight Office: "And forgiveness takes place . . . as it has been shown at Compline," or "and the usual forgiveness takes place." During this "forgiveness," all come down from their stasidia[190] and first the priest

187. The "royal gate" (βασιλικὴ πύλη) refers to the gates or doors into the nave of the temple. The word "λιτή" is used here in the sense of "λιτὴ ναοῦ" a monastic addition to the narthēx. See Sotiris Voyadjis, "Column-supported Narthexes–Lites in Monastic Architecture," *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 33 (2012), 54:

> The wide narthex supported on columns, called lite from the respective monastic office held in this space, essentially comprises an annex to the body of the church. It provided important additional space to the nave, wherever it was used, that fulfilled needs beyond conducting the lite office, such as accommodating the worshippers, who under certain circumstances could not fit in the main church. Thus, the lite provides flexibility to the church since it can be isolate from it or be connected to it, e.g., for a liturgy requiring less heating. In addition, it was often the case that a lite was added or a narrow narthex was extended when a monastery became well-known and attracted more people, even though the form of the Divine Liturgy had certainly not changed. Finally, it seems to have housed the need for accommodating catechumens on the floor above. Recent research has shown that this space seems to have constituted the residence of an important person, usually the founder of the monastery.

188. "Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν..."

189. "Εὐξώμεθα..."

190. "στασίδιον, τό (pl., στασίδια, τά)." Here, the term "stasidion" (pl., stasidia) refers to a seat in a monastic chapel or church. In question 557, Phoun-

or the presider makes a prostration "on the ground" towards the brothers while saying, "Bless, holy fathers, forgive me the sinner." The brothers respond, "May God forgive you, holy father," and they also ask for mutual forgiveness in the same manner from the presider and from the brothers. The priest immediately exhorts the community to pray saying, "Let us pray for the peace of the world . . ."[191] and so forth—the "common entreaty"[192] or the "common entreaties,"[193] as the manuscripts term them.

The "forgiveness" has nowadays fallen into disuse in parishes.[194] Personally, I remember elderly priests, who after the dismissal of the Compline during the Salutations and before "Let us pray . . . ," descended from the solea and while asking forgiveness, in roughly the form above, made a deep prostration[195] towards the people. They then also said "Let us pray . . ." from the same place. If this was connected with the taxis of the monasteries described above, it can, I think, satisfactorily explain for us the reason that the priest descends from the solea and there says "Let us pray . . . ."

In any case, the descent from the solea, the petition for forgiveness, and the prostration, even the exhortation for prayer from the middle of the temple, are all beautiful and impressive elements of the Compline and the Midnight Office, and their preservation, at least in the service of the Salutations, which is virtually the only one

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toulês states regarding their construction in modern monasteries, "For the synaxes, the worshipers invented stasidia, which, when properly constructed, such as for example on the Holy Mountain, are a marvel of knowledge of the human body's anatomy. They enable propping up the one praying when he stands upright, supporting him in a half-seated posture, and relaxing him when he is seated." Such seats are also designed to allow the worshipper when seated to rest his or her head on the arm rest.

191. "Εὐξώμεθα ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῦ κόσμου..."

192. "κοινὴ δέησι."

193. "κοινὰς δεήσεις."

194. Some parishes in the Church of Greece still continue this practice of mutual forgiveness on Cheesefare Sunday. The practice is common on this Sunday in the parishes of other autocephalous churches.

195. "ἐδαφιαία μετάνοια." The "deep prostration" involves dropping to the knees and, with both hands typically placed in a fist position on the ground, bowing the forehead to the floor, and arising while making the sign of the cross in-between each prostration.

during which the people come, can very much contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of compunction.

325

If the temple completely lacks a chanter and the priest is elderly or ill, is it possible during the Divine Liturgy or especially during the services of Great Week to use cassette recordings?[196]

The case is very extreme. However, it is well known that there exist villages that completely lack a chanter who can even rudimentarily respond to the demands of the analogion.[197] And in the Divine Liturgy, the situation can be managed in one way or another. Moreover, we encountered similar circumstances in prior questions (see questions 50 and 190). The liturgical texts are simple and familiar, and can also be recited in a monotone, as the old and correct tradition requires it, which is even observed nowadays in the monasteries of the Holy Mountain. The problem is more acute in the services of Matins, but again our priests find a practical solution, when performing the proskomidē earlier and chanting, oftentimes themselves alone, up until the enarxis of the Divine Liturgy.

However, the problem is truly acute in the services of Great Week. As the services have developed nowadays, with their exceptionally long length, with many and difficult troparia, and with frequent changes of tones, it is not possible for them to be served from existing resources. They require special persons who would know at least in a practical manner how to chant. Even a young and healthy priest would with great difficulty meet the demands of both the priestly celebration and the analogion. The "temptation" in our era is great. Records and cassettes of church music with the services of Great Week, which are chanted by fine choirs of chanters, are commercially available. What then would be more preferable, for the

196. The question can be understood as referring to recordings in general using current technology.

197. "ἀναλόγιον." In parish practice, the analogion is often a multi-sided slanted stand incorporating shelving space for the storage of liturgical books for the reader and chanter. It is sometimes described in English as the "chanting stand" or "lectern."

troparia to be chanted by a tone-deaf chanter or, in his absence, by the priest, who will not meet his dual responsibilities or will be elderly and sick, or for the troparia to be heard, albeit by recording, from a splendid choir that great metropolitan temples would envy? There exist examples of some who succumbed to this "temptation."

Despite all these things, I am of the opinion that we must be categorical on this subject. Chanting in the temple is a sacred ministry. Just as we cannot participate in the celebration of the mysteries by television, so much more is it not permitted to substitute the chanting and the praise of God by His people with technical and foreign means. Let us recall how cautious our Church is in regard to the use of instrumental music in our temples, which in the final analysis will not replace, but will accompany the vocal chanting.[198] And very rightly so. Because it is preferable to read clearly and meaningfully those troparia that cannot be chanted, instead of also deadening this element of our worship with industrial solutions. The teacher, or someone relatively educated in the village, can read from the analogion, provided that the priest makes sure to respectively prepare him or her in a timely manner. As for long-playing records, it would be good for the priest to organize a gathering of the parishioners in a hall, and for them to hear the beautiful troparia, while he makes some explanatory and constructive remarks. Thus, sacred worship will be preserved and the faithful will have the opportunity to aesthetically enjoy the music and the sublime content of sacred hymnography.

This circumstance, which the priest who posed the question faces in all of its drama, and together with him also many other parish priests of small and remote villages, could be an educational opportunity for all of us (and especially for those struggling with similar circumstances) to reflect on how we must seriously ensure the staffing of the analogion. As the years pass, conditions are becoming

198. Regarding the issue of introducing musical instruments into Orthodox worship and the 1902 encyclical of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece prohibiting their use, see Ἀχιλλέας Γ. Χαλδαιάκης, *Ο Ν.Δ. Λεβίδης καὶ Τὸ Ἀνακύψαν Μουσικὸ Ζήτημα κατὰ τὸν Μαΐο τοῦ 1902* (Ἀθῆναι: n.p., 1994).

increasingly difficult. With patience and love, the effort must begin starting with the children of the elementary school. These children when properly encouraged will approach the analogion, learn to chant the easy melodies of the Liturgy, and will produce chanters cable of bearing the weight, even of Great Week, in the future.

326

During Great Week, is it permitted for the parish priest to celebrate the service of the Holy Passions in his parish on Great Thursday evening, and to travel and perform the service of the epitaphios in another parish on Great Friday evening?

No impediment theoretically exists. It is certainly something unusual and disorderly. The services of Great Week have been so structured as to constitute a historical and experiential unified whole for the believer who follows the sacred events from the resurrection of Lazarus, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the events during the last days of the Lord's life on earth, the handing down of the awesome Mysteries, the Passion, the Burial, and the Resurrection. Altogether they constitute a sacred ladder that progressively raises the believer, and together with the Lord, transports him/her from death to life and the joy of the Resurrection. In other words, it is not the material temple that constitutes the worship space in which the services are conducted, which would impede the transfer of the services from one place to another, but rather the people of God, for whose sake and edification and salvation the sacred events are again made liturgically present. Moreover, in many villages, where two temples exist, this change of location traditionally takes place. Namely, certain services of Great Week are celebrated in one temple and others in the other one: for example, the Passions in the parish temple, the epitaphios in the cemetery chapel, and so forth. Certain practical liturgical difficulties, such as the lack of a procession of the epitaphios during the aposticha of Vespers, can be easily overcome.[199]

199. Phountoulēs is most likely referring to cases where, when small cemetery chapels are used, the full procession of the epitaphios is not practical due to the constraints of space. The transference of the service to a cemetery setting might be viewed as a substitution for a "funeral procession."

In any case, the normal thing would be for all the services to be celebrated in the same ecclesiastical community and for the faithful to attend and participate in all the phases of the divine drama. However, inasmuch as unavoidable difficulties compel the priest to be absent during one or the other service in order to serve other brothers and sisters, who without this oikonomia would remain without services during these sacred days, it is also valuable for the priest to go through the trouble of travelling and for the parishioners of one parish to be deprived of a portion of the services on account of love for the brothers and sisters of the other community. When strictness conflicts with love, love always conquers. The Sabbath is not preferable to humanity in any circumstance.

Especially for the service of the epitaphios, it could be noted that there certainly exists a traditional method that can accommodate the needs of both parishes. Namely, if the priest celebrates the service during the usual time in the one parish on the evening of Great Friday and celebrates a second service in the morning hours of Great Saturday, according to the ancient taxis, and in succession the Vespers and Liturgy of Basileios the Great, thus also combining the Paschal communion for the faithful of this parish. This solution would certainly especially weary the priest. But let it be one more sacrifice for the love of Christ and of his brothers and sisters. After all, the Fathers have wisely managed matters, so that a week of relative liturgical relaxation and pause follows after the heavy burden of Great Week.

327

During the reading of the synaxarion for one of the days of Renewal Week, I also heard the synaxarion for the Sunday of Pascha being said after the mēnologion. There is nothing relevant in the Pentēkostarion and the Typika. Is it correct for it to be said?

As far as I know, the reading of the synaxarion for Pascha during Renewal Week is not attested to either by the manuscripts or also by the printed Pentēkostaria and Typika. This does not seem to be widespread, nor is it done on the Holy Mountain. I suppose that it

is more a custom of Asia Minor origin and was introduced perhaps by an extension of the familiar rubrics of the Typikon that during Renewal Week the service of Pascha is celebrated unchanged, except for those troparia that change, consistent with the indications of the Pentēkostarion. The canon with its mesōdia (hypakoē, kontakion/oikos) remains the same. In consequence also the synaxarion, inasmuch as during all these days we are liturgically celebrating the Resurrection of the Lord. The writer himself has heard this synaxarion and admits that it left a good impression, despite any reservations regarding the formal preciseness of this practice. Theologically and according to the festal calendar,[200] the addition is correct.

They add after the synaxarion of the mēnologion:

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Δευτέρᾳ (Τρίτῃ κ.λ.π) τῆς Διακαινησίμου αὐτὴν τὴν ζωηφόρον ἀνάστασιν ἑορτάζομεν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Χριστὸς κατελθὼν εἰς πάλην Ἅιδου μόνος,

λαβὼν ἀνῆλθε πολλὰ τῆς νίκης σκῦλα.

Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

On this same day, Monday (Tuesday, and so forth) of Renewal Week, we celebrate this life-bearing Resurrection of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ.

Christ who descending alone in a struggle with Hades,

rose after receiving many spoils of victory.

To Him be glory and dominion unto the ages of ages. Amen."

328

At the trisagia from the Sunday of Thomas until the leavetaking of Pascha, is "Holy God . . ."[201] or "Christ is risen..."[202] said three times? Why is this not expressly prescribed by the Typikon?

From the Sunday of Thomas (Saturday of Renewal Week Vespers)[203] until the Tuesday before the leavetaking of Pascha, "Christ is

200. "ἑορτολογικά." Namely, consistent with the Heortologion.
201. "Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός..."
202. "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη..."
203. Namely, the Vespers begins celebration of the Sunday of Thomas.

risen . . ." instead of "Holy God . . ." is indeed said or chanted three times during the trisagia (namely, "Christ is risen . . ." three times, Glory both now, "All Holy Trinity . . ."[204] and so forth). However, this substitution is not done at all of the trisagia, but only at the enarxis trisagia for individual services, namely at the start of the morning prayer[205] or the Midnight Office, of the Ninth Hour and Compline, and in the monasteries also at the start of the Third Hour. During these days, as it is well known, "O Heavenly King . . ."[206] is also not said, but right after the "Blessed is our God . . . ,"[207] "Christ is risen . . ." is said or chanted three times, and the remaining elements according to the taxis above. The same also applies for the other services, where the taxis provides for the trisagion at their beginning, for example, in the funereal Trisagion, in the service of the "kairos," and so forth. However, at the intermediate trisagia of various services, such as after "Now let your servant depart . . ."[208] of Vespers, after "It is good to acknowledge the Lord . . ."[209] of Matins, after the apolytikia of the Hours, and so forth, "Holy God . . ." is said just as also during other days of the year and is not replaced with "Christ is risen . . . ."

In the Typikon in use, there exists a note that relates somewhat indirectly to our subject. At the end of the preface concerning the Midnight Office, § 17, it notes: "One must note that 'O Heavenly King' at the beginning of Vespers and of Matins is not said from the Sunday of Pascha until Pentecost, nor 'Holy God' until the Ascension; but after 'Blessed is our God,' 'Christ is risen' immediately three times, 'Glory to the Father . . . Both now and ever . . . All Holy Trinity . . .' and so forth."[210] There is no mention regarding other services that begin with a trisagion. However, generally, this rubric is written lacking sufficient detail, because neither does Renewal

204. "Παναγία Τριάς..."
205. "τῆς προοιμιακῆς προσευχῆς."
206. "Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε..."
207. "Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν..."
208. "Νῦν ἀπολύεις..."
209. "Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ..." (Psalm 91:2).
210. Γ. Βιολάκης, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1921), 17.

Week have enarxis trisagia in services, nor do Vespers and Matins have an enarxis trisagion, since they are always attached, the first to the Ninth Hour, the second to the Midnight Office. However, inasmuch as this notation is added to the paragraph concerning the Midnight Office, it is taken for granted that this rubric refers to this service. Clear pertinent rubrics are contained in modern manuscript Typika of the Holy Mountain.

But even if the Typikon did not prescribe the things above, this would have no particular significance. The change takes place according to custom, just as also so many other things in divine worship.

329

During the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, when the consecration of the precious gifts takes place, does the deacon say to the priest, "Bless, Master, the holy bread"[211] and so forth? Some service books have this, and others do not, and some maintain that this must not be said. What is correct?

As we have written on other occasions, the deacon during the Divine Liturgy performs a role of "master of ceremonies,"[212] so to speak. His commands and reminders are directed to the people and to the priest, who he reminds what must be done and said. Such exhortations to the priest are also sporadically encountered in the ancient Liturgies and especially in the Alexandrian liturgical tradition, such as, for example, in the Liturgy of Saint Markos: "Πετάσατε,"[213] "Presbyters,

211. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον."

212. "τελετάρχου." The role of reminding during liturgical celebrations could also be seen in the actions of the canonarch (κανονάρχης) in monasteries, a precentor who does a step-by-step recitation of hymn segments incrementally before they are chanted and shifts from one choir to the other while doing so. However, this point requires additional examination and study.

213. The verb, "πετάσατε" (πετάννυμι, second person plural, aorist active imperative), left untranslated due to disputes regarding its exact meaning, is taken from the preliminaries before the anaphora in certain manuscripts of the Liturgy. According to Geofrey J. Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark*, OCA 234 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 105: "[Vatican MS gr] 1970 adds a bidding Πετάσατε, which Brightman (LEW, 601) explains as 'Spread out' your hands; but the usual word for this is ἐκτείνατε (e.g., 133.27).

spread out,"[214] "Spread out again,"[215] and the like. And in the Byzantine Liturgies of Basileios the Great and of the sacred Chrysostomos, such exhortations are encountered in the ancient manuscripts, but very few, such as "Bless, Master"[216] at the beginning of the Liturgy, and some others. Nowadays, our Liturgy contains a multitude of such exhortations and dialogues between the deacon and the priest. These are not found in the ancient manuscripts. Nor do all these commands go back to one particular time period. It seems that they were gradually formed, at first verbally, afterwards they then entered into the Diataxeis of the Divine Liturgy and from there also into the manuscripts of the sixteenth century onwards. Their gradual increase in the Diataxeis is also observed. For example, in the *Diataxis* of the *Codex Athens 662* from the twelfth-thirteenth century, the diaconal commands and the dialogues are fewer than those found in the *Diataxis* of Philotheos (*Codex Panteleēmonos 6277-770* from the fourteenth century). In the older manuscripts of the Liturgies, they are even fewer, but more in later manuscripts. The same thing is noted in the printed editions; the old editions follow the old manuscripts and have very few diaconal exhortations, while later editions introduce all the well-known dialogues, and so forth, into the texts.

And one more thing. The Liturgy of the sacred Chrysostomos is placed first in order (Chrysostomos – Basileios – Presanctified) in the later manuscripts and in all the printed editions, while the Liturgy of Basileios the Great is first in the ancient manuscripts. The rubrics, dialogues, exhortations, and so forth, inasmuch as they are interpolated into the text of the Liturgy of Chrysostomos, which is the first in order and the one more useful, due to the frequent use of this Liturgy, are not always repeated in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great. Thus, the text of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great preserves a more conservative form because it is placed second in book order and because it is only celebrated ten times per year.

Coquin's explanation, 'Draw' the curtains of the sanctuary, seems preferable. A third possibility is 'Wave' the fans as in *Ap. Const.*, the Arabic *Didascalia*, and Narsai."

214. "Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἐκτείνατε."

215. "Ἔτι ἐκτείνατε."

216. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα."

After these necessary remarks, we come specifically to the particular question referring to "Bless, Master, the Holy Bread" and so forth, of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great. These commands are not encountered in the ancient manuscripts, nor even in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos. Similarly, they are not found in the old *Diataxis* of the *Codex Athens 662*, even though other rubrics exist. After the blessing of the Holy Bread and of the cup, the deacon says "Amen" once and after the blessing of both holy gifts "Amen" twice. However, the precursor exists for the current commands: when the priest says, "And make...,"[217] the deacon, holding his orarion in his right hand, "lifts this in front of the" bread first and then the cup, indicating and silently reminding the priest to bless the gifts.[218] In the *Diataxis* of Philotheos, the deacon also indicates the bread first by his orarion, then the cup, and afterwards "the holy gifts together,"[219] and says the familiar words at the first and second blessing, and at the third blessing, "Bless also both, Master."[220] After the blessings, the deacon again says, just as also in the old *Diataxis*, "Amen" once for the first two blessings and "Amen" twice for the third blessing.[221] Of the later manuscripts of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, some follow the older manuscripts and have only one "Amen" (at the third blessing, the double "Amen"—two gifts, "Amen" twice—is gradually abandoned and the triple "Amen" is introduced according to trinitarian form), others have only the first exhortation, others omit the third, and, finally, others have three, just as in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos.

Now, in the printed editions of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, we have almost the same image that we also find in the later manuscripts. In some editions, the diaconal exhortations in question do not exist at all, except for only "Amen," while in others we find them just as also in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos. Only in the

217. "Καὶ ποίησον..."
218. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 11.
219. "ὁμοῦ τὰ ἅγια."
220. "Εὐλόγησον καὶ ἀμφότερα, δέσποτα."
221. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 11–12.

third command do we have a difference in the printed edition of the Liturgies by M. Saliveros–G. Karyophyllēs[222] (edited by N. Papadopoulos): "Bless, Master, both together,"[223] and in the Great Eucholo-gion of the edition of M. Saliveros (edited by N. Papadopoulos): "Bless, Master, both."[224] All this is explainable in light of what we have written at the beginning of the answer.

After the above remarks, what must be the correct practice? The answer comes naturally. The Liturgies of the sacred Chrysostomos and Basileios the Great are constructed upon the same skeleton. They differ only as to the prayers from the catechumen parts and beyond. The "kairos," the vesting, the proskomidē, the antiphons, the parts after the entrance up until to the ektenēs, the diaconal petitions, the exclamations (apart from "He gave it to his holy…"[225]), the liturgical acts,[226] the dialogues of priest and deacon, the diaconal commands, and the hymns of the people (except for the megalynarion of the Theotokos) are also common for both. Whatever is said and done in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos also applies for the Liturgy of Basileios the Great. And the diaconal commands during the consecration of the precious gifts, whether they are recorded in the liturgical text of Basileios the Great or only in that of Chrysostomos, are said unchanged just as also there.

As for the third command, which is presented in the two editions mentioned above in two different variants ("Bless, Master, both" and "Bless, Master, both together"), this must not create issues for us. In the *Diataxis* of Philotheos, we saw that in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos the reading exists, "Bless also both, Master,"[227] and in the manuscripts of the same Liturgy, others also are encountered:

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222. In the publications of Michaēl Saliveros, two variants of this name appear, "Καρυοφύλης" and "Καρυοφύλλης."

223. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, συναμφότερα."

224. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὰ ἀμφότερα."

225. "Ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ…"

226. The "liturgical acts" (οἱ λειτουργικὲς πράξεις) are the fraction or breaking, commingling or commixture, and zeon. They are also known as the "manual acts".

227. "Εὐλόγησον καὶ ἀμφότερα, δέσποτα."

"Bless, Master, also both,"[228] "Bless, Master, both,"[229] "Bless, Master, also both,"[230] and so forth. However, inasmuch as the exhortation in both Liturgies has finally been crystalized in the formula "Bless, Master, both holy gifts,"[231] which is known, simple, and clear, what is the purpose of seeking other rare and difficult forms for no reason?

330

Why does "Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ" (Changing them by your Holy Spirit) not exist in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great? Is it necessary and must it be added?[232]

From the text of the Liturgies of the sacred Chrysostomos and Basileios the Great and from the evidence of the ancient codices, it appears that during the consecration of the precious gifts three blessings were not given, as nowadays, but only two.[233] "Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ" (Changing them by your Holy Spirit), is not a phrase of blessing, as the two previous ones clearly are ("Καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου," And make this bread the precious Body of your Christ – "Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου," And that which is in this cup the precious Blood of your Christ), but a continuation of both these two phrases. The term "μεταβαλὼν" (changing) is a modal participle, which is dependent on the verb "ποίησον" (make); the change of the gifts to the Body and Blood of Christ will be done by the visitation of the Holy Spirit. Namely, the weight of the invocation falls upon the first two phrases, as precisely Nikolaos Kabasilas comments: "And after proclaiming these words [namely, 'Take, eat . . .' and 'Drink of it all of you . . .'], he then bows down, prays, and beseeches that those divine utterances of His only begotten Son, the Savior, be applied also to the gifts set forth also receiving His All-

228. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, καὶ ἀμφότερα."
229. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὰ ἀμφότερα."
230. "Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα, καὶ τὰ ἀμφότερα."
231. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, ἀμφότερα τὰ ἅγια."
232. See questions 480–481 for a more detailed discussion.
233. This sets the order of the discussion, which will first concentrate on the Liturgy of Chrysostomos.

holy and All-powerful Spirit to be changed, the bread to His very precious and holy Body, and the wine to His very immaculate and holy Blood. After having prayed and said these things, the entirety of the sacred-service is 'accomplished and perfected'[234] and the gifts were consecrated, and the sacrifice was completed and the great sacrifice and sacrificial victim slain for the life of the world is seen laid upon the sacred table" (*Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, chapter 27).[235] Moreover, in the *Codex Barberini 336* from the eighth century, which is the most ancient Byzantine Euchologion, the phrase "μεταβαλών . . ." (changing . . .) is attached to the preceding and to the first (it exists twice at the end of the two phrases), and without a third blessing being given to the precious gifts.[236]

The matter is more apparent in the text of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great. The phrase, "Τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς [καὶ σωτηρίας]" (Shed for the life [and salvation] of the world) constitutes a continuation of the second phrase of blessing, "Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" (And this cup to be itself the precious Blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ) and neither does it refer to the activity of the Holy Spirit, nor even to both eucharistic species, but only to the precious Blood shed on the cross of the Lord. In the *Codex Barberini*, it is attached to the previous phrase, " . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀμήν, τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, ἀμήν" (. . . of Jesus Christ, amen, shed for the life of the world, amen), but three blessings are presupposed, since there is a standard rubric at the beginning of the invocation ("and he seals the holy gifts three

234. "ἤνυσται καὶ τετέλεσται." At the end of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, these words are at the beginning of the prayer said by the priest while turned to the table of the prothesis.

235. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 27 in *Nicholas Cabasilas: Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, eds. René Bornert, Jean Gouillard, and Pierre Périchon, and trans. Sévérien Salaville, 2nd edition, SC 4bis (Paris: Cerf, 1967), 174–175.

236. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Euchologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 35.4, 5. Phountoulēs here is discussing the phrases of blessings as they appear in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos.

times saying").[237] In the Alexandrian Liturgy of Basileios the Great, which is shorter and is considered a maternal form for the Byzantine Liturgy of Basileios the Great, only two phrases of blessing are clearly found, one for the bread and the other for the cup. The ancient Liturgies of Saint Iakōvos, Saint Markos, Saint Grēgorios the Theologian, and so forth also likewise have only two blessings.

Early on, however, a third blessing is also introduced into both Byzantine Liturgies, according to the sacred form of the Holy Trinity. According to the schēma of the two previous blessings, it was necessary for it to be pieced together into one phrase. And in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos, the end was detached, which referred to the change of both precious gifts by the activity of the Holy Spirit ("Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ· ἀμήν, ἀμήν," Changing [them] by your Holy Spirit. Amen, amen, or later, "Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν," Amen, amen, amen). However, in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, it was more difficult, since the end of the phrase neither referred to both gifts nor did it also refer, as we saw, to the activity of the Holy Spirit, but to the Blood of Christ. Finally, the same thing correspondingly happened there as did in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos, but not without other solutions being sought. This is also because for anyone who carefully studies this point, an impression of the service always remains: What is the relation between a blessing and the phrase, "Τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς" (Shed for the life of the world)?

The correction was made based on the parallel text of the Liturgy of Chrysostomos, which was considered, as it also actually is, more befitting. They added, "Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ" (Changing them by your Holy Spirit) to accompany the third blessing. We encounter the addition in a rather large number of manuscripts that are dated from the sixteenth century onwards. However, it is made in a variety of ways: either "τὸ ἔκχυθέν . . ." (shed...) is omitted and substituted with "μεταβαλών . . ." (changing . . .), or "μεταβαλών..." (changing . . .) is added to "τὸ ἔκχυθέν..." (shed . . .) as a unified phrase of a third blessing, or "τὸ ἔκχυθέν . . ." (shed . . .) is attached

237. "καὶ σφραγίζει τὰ ἅγια δῶρα γ' λέγων."

to the second phrase of blessing and "μεταβαλών . . ." (changing . . .) remains as a third blessing, or "τὸ ἐκχυθέν . . ." (shed . . .) remains as a third blessing and "μεταβαλών . . ." (changing . . .) is added as a fourth blessing. More radical solutions were also not lacking. They omitted the entire section from "Τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον, αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα . . ." (this bread to be itself the precious Body . . .) up until "ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς [καὶ σωτηρίας]" (for the life [and salvation] of the world) and added the corresponding text of Chrysostomos, "καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον . . ." (and make this bread . . .) up until "τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ" (by your Holy Spirit) (*Codices Athens 766, 773, 776*).

Blessed Nikodēmos of the Holy Mountain knew this addition and condemned it with stern words: "The priests, when they celebrate the Liturgy of Saint Basileios, at the time of the transubstantiation (τῆς μετουσιώσεως) and sanctification of the mysteries, must not say, 'Changing them by your Holy Spirit' (Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ), because this is an addition of some ignorant and audacious person, who being opposed, it would seem, to the Latins, took these words from the Liturgy of Chrysostomos and put them into the Liturgy of Basileios. These words are hence not found in the old manuscripts, as we have researched, but neither do such words have a place there according to syntax." (*Rudder*, footnote on the canon 19 of the Council in Laodicea).[238] The printed edition of the Great

238. Ἀγάπιος ἱερομόναχος (Λεονάρδος) καὶ Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς μιᾶς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1982), 428, n. 3. Translation adapted from D. Cummings, trans., *The Rudder (Pedalion) of the Metaphorical Ship of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the Orthodox Christians, or all the sacred and divine canons of the holy and renowned apostles, of the holy councils, ecumenical as well as regional, and of the individual divine Fathers, as embodied in the original Greek text, for the sake of authenticity, and explained in the vernacular by way of rendering them more intelligible to the less educated by Agapius, A Hieromonach and Nicodemus, a monk and diligently redacted at the instance of His Superlative All-Holiness and of the Sacred and Holy Synod by Seignior Dorotheus, and Erudite Teacher and Preacher, first printed and published (AD 1800) by permission and exhortation and order of the Superlatively All-Holy and Ecumenical Patriarch and of the Holy Synod, under the supervision of Theodoret (Ath.) of Ioannina, one among the hieromonachs. The whole now faithfully translated into English from the fifth edition published by John Nicolaides*

Euchologion of M. Saliveros (edited by N. Papadopoulos) similarly also notes this addition of "Μεταβαλών . . .(Changing...) in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great and disapproves of it as not agreeing with the syntax of the text (p. 64).[239] This footnote was taken verbatim from the edition of the Liturgies under the title *The Divine Liturgies* (G. Prōtopsaltidēs), in Constantinople 1858, 2nd edition 1875, p. 133.[240] It appears that this footnote, as the others of this edition, was composed by Patriarch Kōnstantios I from Sinai.[241]

It was claimed that the contentious phrase existed in the original text of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great. But this hypothesis is not substantiated, either by syntax or by the parallel of the Alexandrian Liturgy of Basileios the Great, nor is it attested to by old and reliable manuscripts. The meaning of the phrase is complete without the addition. The invocation has a perfect form:

(Kesioglou the Caesarean) in Athens, Greece 1908 (Chicago: The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1983), 561. In other words, according to Saint Nikodēmos, the "ignorant" person in an effort to oppose a Latin teaching on the words of institution as effecting transubstantiation attempted to over-emphasize the invocation of the Holy Spirit as changing the gifts.

239. *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα: ἀναθεωρηθὲν καὶ διὰ παντοίων σημειώσεων καὶ νέων εὐχῶν πλουτισθέν. Ἐπιμελείᾳ Νικ. Παν. Παπαδοπούλου, Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Ἰ. Σαλίβερος, 1927), 64.

240. Ν. Κ. Πρωτοψαλτίδης, *Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι τῶν ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου σὺν τῇ τῶν Προηγιασμένων, μετὰ τοῦ Λυχνικοῦ Ὄρθρου, καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροδιακονικοῦ, Ἀκριβῶς ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσαι καὶ πλουτισθεῖσαι δι' ὑποσημειώσεων περιέργων, παρὰ τοῦ παναγιωτάτου καὶ σεβασμιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Κωνσταντίου τοῦ Α'. τοῦ ἀπὸ Σιναίου* (Κωνσταντινούπολις: ἐκ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, 1875), 133. The text of the note reads: "Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ' [Changing them by your Holy Spirit], copied from the Divine Liturgy of Chrysostomos, when considered on the basis of syntax has no place here in that of Basileios the Great, but is an addition, which was audaciously made by someone, as also Nikodēmos noted in his Pēdalion (canon 19 of the Council in Laodicea)."

241. See the further discussion of this point in questions 480 and 481. Kōnstantios I of Constantinople (1770–1859, r. 1830–1834).

Σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν . . . ἐλθεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι· τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα . . . τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου . . . , τὸ ἐκχυθέν . . .	We ask and beseech you . . . that your Holy Spirit will come upon us and upon these gifts set forth both to bless them and sanctify them and manifest this bread to be itself the precious Body . . . and this cup to be itself the precious Blood of our Lord . . . shed . . . .

Μεταβαλών . . ." (changing . . .), if it existed, would cause a syntactical anomaly and excess, unusual for such a philologically tested text, as the Liturgy of Basileios the Great.

331

What eisodikon must be chanted during the feast of the Transfiguration of the Savior, "Tabor and Hermon will rejoice in your name,"[242] which the Mēnaion has, or "For with you is the fountain of life, in your light we shall see light,"[243] which the Hieratikon has?

The tradition, as it is represented by our printed liturgical books, is divided on the question of the eisodikon for the feast of the Transfiguration:

1) The Mēnaia (see editions of Venice 1895, Phōs, Saliveros) and old printed editions of the Hieratika (for example, Venice 1795, 1811, 1848, Rome 1950, G. Prōtopsaltidēs 1865, 1875) provide for the verse "Tabor and Hermon will rejoice in your name" (Psalm 88:13b).

2) The Typika in use (Kōnstantinos and Violakēs)[244] and the modern Calendar-Typika (Pharlekas, Apostolikē Diakonia, Bekatōros), modern publications of liturgical books (such as G. Karyo-

242. "Θαβὼρ καὶ Ἑρμὼν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἀγαλλιάσονται."

243. "Ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς, ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς.

244. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βυζάντιος, Πρωτοψάλτης, *Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*, 2nd ed., 7th printing (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: Γεώργιος Σεϊτανίδης, 1874), 197; Γ. Βιολάκης, *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1921), 302.

phyllēs,[245] M. Saliveros, Apostolikē Diakonia), the Hierotelestikon of Philippi and Neapolis,[246] the Archieratikon, and the Enkolpion for the Reader of the Apostolikē Diakonia, and so forth, have the verse "For with you is the fountain of life, in your light we shall see light" (Psalm 35:10).

Research into the manuscripts complicates matters more, because there we encounter even a third eisodikon, the common "O come, let us worship . . ."[247] (Psalm 94:6a). This is the only eisodikon that is attested to for the feast of the Transfiguration by the manuscript tradition. However, this new complexity also gives us a way out in the search for the solution.

As we have written in the past (in response to question 318), the entrance takes place during the third antiphon, and the eisodikon is the last verse chanted from the psalm of this antiphon. The common eisodikon, "O come, let us worship . . . ," presupposes the chanting of the common antiphons "It is good to acknowledge the Lord . . ."[248] (Psalm 91), "The Lord reigned . . ."[249] (Psalm 92), and "O come, let us rejoice in the Lord . . ."[250] (Psalm 94). Here, the sixth verse of the psalm of the third antiphon (Psalm 94), slightly adapted ("to him"/"to Christ"), is an eisodikon. This manner of structure for the antiphons and the entry hymns is kept without deviation in the antiphons up until the twelfth century in both the common and the special ones for feasts. The substitution of the antiphons with the typika and the Beatitudes, which originally took place in the monasteries, and subsequently was also extended to the parish temples, as well as the increase of feasts and the composition of special antiphons for them in an inappropriate manner,[251] altered the proper structure of the new antiphons and their relationship with the eiso-

245. In the publications of Michaēl Saliveros, two variants of this name appear, "Καρυοφύλης" and "Καρυοφύλλης."

246. Χρυσόστομος Φιλίππων καὶ Νεαπόλεως, Ἱεροτελεστικόν (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1948), 269.

247. "Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν..."

248. "Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ..."

249. "Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν..."

250. "Δεῦτε ἀγαλλισώμεθα τῷ Κυρίῳ..."

251. See the conclusion at the end of the answer.

dika. We will address the subject of the typika/antiphons in another answer. The above remarks suffice for the question that concerns us.

Indeed, the feast of the Transfiguration does not have special antiphons both in the manuscripts and in the old, printed editions. Consequently, it does not have a special eisodikon. During this feast, the common antiphons were chanted in the parishes, but in the monasteries the typika and the Beatitudes with the troparia from the third and sixth odes of the canon for the feast were chanted. And in both instances, "O come, let us worship . . ." was an eisodikon. Typika are provided for the feast of the Transfiguration by the Typikon of Saint Sabas (edition of Venice 1771) and by the Mēnaion (edition of Rome 1901). We find a transitional rubric with selective chanting either of the typika or the (common) antiphons in the Typikon of the Monastery of the Savior in Messina from the year 1131.[252]

It is not easy for it to be determined when the special antiphons and the special eisodikon for the feast of the Transfiguration appear. We saw that in the printed editions we have a double tradition that corresponds to the respective double tradition of the special antiphons. The Slavic liturgical books provide for other verses for the antiphons and another entry hymn ("O Lord, send out your light and your truth; these guided me and led me to your holy mountain,"[253] Psalm 42:3). This also demonstrates their later introduction into the service of the feast.

It appears that the tradition of the Mēnaia is older that sets verses chosen from various psalms for the first antiphon, verses from Psalms 86 and 88 for the second and the third antiphons respectively, and "Tabor and Hermon . . . " for the eisodikon. This is verse 13b of Psalm 88, namely, the psalm of the third antiphon. The structure of the second and the third antiphons is appropriate and consistent

252. Miguel Arranz, ed., *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensi Gr 115, A.D. 1131, Introduction, Text Critique et Notes*, OCA 185 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1969), 176–177.

253. "Κύριε, ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου· αὐτὰ μὲ ὡδήγησαν καὶ ἤγαγόν με εἰς ὄρος ἅγιόν σου."

with what we wrote about the manner of organization for antiphons and the relation of the third antiphon to the eisodikon.

The other tradition is obviously later. It constructs the antiphons, not with complete psalms, namely, with verses chosen from one psalm for each antiphon, but with verses chosen from various psalms, as we saw in the first antiphon of the previous form. It is also noteworthy that all the verses of the three antiphons come from the "Selection for the Transfiguration of our Savior Jesus Christ,"[254] which is chanted, as it is well known, during the vigil after the polyeleos of Matins (see Sabbas the hieromonk, *A Selection of Psalms*, Athens 1894, pp. 45–46).[255] We have such antiphons, which are composed from verses selected from various psalms, for certain feasts (Nativity, Entrance, Annunciation and Dormition of the Theotokos, Circumcision of Christ, and the First and Second Sunday of the Fast). All are later and preserve the common eisodikon, "O come, let us worship . . . ," apart from the feast of the Annunciation, which has its own eisodikon. The eisodikon, "For with you is the fountain of life . . ." is encountered for the first time, at least as far as I know, in the Typikon of Kōnstantinos together with the selected antiphons (Constantinople 1838, pp. 140–141).[256]

From the retrospection that was done, I think that certain matters were clarified. The feast of the Transfiguration did not at

254. "Ἐκλογὴ εἰς τὴν Μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." Phountoulēs is referring to a section of a Eklogarion (Ἐκλογάριον, το), also known as a Ἐκλογαὶ Ἁγίων, which is a book chiefly containing "selected" psalmic verses or whole psalms intended to provide alternative selections at the polyeleos during Matins that are chanted during the celebration of feasts. The name of the book is derived from the Greek word for "selection" (ἐκλογή). These books are organized according to the Heortologion. Phountoulēs is referring here to that section of the book dealing with the feast of the Transfiguration. On the other hand, the term, Eklogadion (Ἐκλογάδιον, τό), refers to a lectionary of epistle and gospel readings.

255. Σάββας ἱερομόναχος τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰβηριτικοῦ Κελλίου τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων πλησίον τοῦ Πρωτάτου, *Ἐκλογὴ ἐκ τῶν Ψαλμῶν τοῦ Προφήτου καὶ Βασιλέως Δαβίδ* (Ἀθῆναι: n.p., 1894), 45–46.

256. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Βυζάντιος, Πρωτοψάλτης, *Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὸ ὕφος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*, (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας τῶν Ἀδελφῶν Ἰγνατιαδῶν, 1838), 141.

first have its own eisodikon, but the common one, "O come, let us worship . . ." with the common antiphons, "It is good to acknowledge the Lord . . ." or the typika with again the common eisodikon. In subsequent years, it acquires a special eisodikon, "Tabor and Hermon . . . ," which was already used at many points of services (prokeimenon for the gospel reading of Matins, a verse for the aposticha of the Vespers and of the Matins for the metheorta). It was transferred from there to the entrance of the Divine Liturgy, as also took place with other feast days (Exaltation of the Precious Cross, Meeting of Christ, Annunciation). A little later or even simultaneously the old antiphons were introduced, at a time when the relation between the third antiphon and the eisodikon had not yet been forgotten. Obviously, the selected antiphons came much later, perhaps at the same time with the substitution of the old eisodikon ("Tabor and Hermon . . .") with "For with you is the fountain of life . . . ." "Tabor and Hermon . . ." is transferred to the third antiphon as the third verse. Why was the change made? Perhaps in order to create some variety, inasmuch as "Tabor and Hermon . . ." was also chanted in the Matins and the aposticha. "For with you is the fountain of life . . ." had in its favor that it was not chanted in another context and that it is more theological. From the selected antiphons, it migrated into the most recent printed editions. It appears that the change took place at first in Constantinople both because we have the first witness by the Typikon of Kōnstantinos and because we know of a related, but unsuccessful, attempt for a restoration of the old eisodikon by Patriarch Meletios IV (Metaxakēs).[257] Angelos Voudourēs provides this point of information in his study, *The Musical Choirs of the Great Church of Christ During Later Years*, part 2, Constantinople 1937, p. 18, n. 23: "Meletios IV (1921), during

257. Meletios IV Metaxakēs, ecumenical patriarch (r. 1921–1923). For a discussion of his reign and the Pan-Orthodox Congress of 1923, see Patrick Viscuso, *A Quest for Reform of the Orthodox Church: The 1923 Pan-Orthodox Congress, An Analysis and Translation of Its Acts and Decisions*, Contemporary Christian Thought Series, number 50 (Alhambra, CA: St. Sebastian Press, 2019).

the feast of the Transfiguration, when the prōtopsaltēs[258] chanted as the entry hymn, 'For with you is the fountain of life...,' the former one correcting his prōtopsaltēs, chanted from the throne 'Tabor and Hermon...' and so forth. After the end of the eisodikon, the prōtopsaltēs, turning to his All Holiness, told him that this is what the Typikon prescribes and also the taxis of the Great Church of Christ. The Patriarch remaining insistent added that this is chanted in Jerusalem; and the chanter immediately pointed out that this standard one[259] is chanted in the Great Church as the eisodikon for the feast."[260]

It is difficult to say which one must be preferred. "Tabor and Hermon . . ." is more ancient and liturgically more correct for the reasons that we indicated. This is also chanted on the Holy Mountain. The grafting of the newer eisodikon onto the old antiphons is definitely artless and testifies to an ignorance of the correct structure of the old antiphons. The chanting of the old antiphons also requires the chanting of the old eisodikon. If the selected antiphons were chanted, "For with you is the fountain of life . . ." would be in its proper position. However, it has in its favor that it is newer and for this reason stronger, and tends to prevail, since it has been adopted by the most recent printed editions of the Greek liturgical books. It has already been introduced into the edition of the Mēnaia of the Apostolikē Diakonia (1969). The future is in its favor.[261]

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258. The prōtopsaltēs was likely Iakōvos Nafpliōtēs (Ἰάκωβος Ναυπλιώτης) (1864–1942).

259. Namely, "For with you is the fountain of life...."

260. Ἄγγελος Βουδούρης, *Οἱ μουσικοὶ χοροὶ τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τοὺς κάτω χρόνους*, 2 parts (Κωνσταντινούπολις: n.p., 1935–1937), 2:18, n. 23. This brief study (forty-nine pages) issued in two parts was reprinted from the journal, *Ὀρθοδοξία*. The chanter was most likely following the Typikon of Kōnstantinos cited above. Although humorous on the surface, the importance of the incident reflects how localized changes in tradition can influence the Church widely.

261. Nevertheless, the currently published Enkolpion for the Reader and Chanter by the Apostolikē Diakonia (sixth edition, 2005) lists the eisodikon as "Tabor and Hermon..." and also provides "For with you is the fountain of life..." as an alternative "according to the newer taxis" (κατὰ δὲ τὴν νεωτέραν τάξιν).

332

During the Divine Liturgy, when must the deacon gird himself with his orarion and when must he ungird it? There is no uniformity in practice.

The one thing alone that the sources agree on is that the deacon girds himself with his orarion during holy communion. There is disagreement regarding the time that he girds it, the time he ungirds it, and the reason for which this is done. The current lack of uniformity perhaps has its cause from there.

According to certain printed editions of the Liturgies that greatly influenced our liturgical practice (because up until and after the war one of them was virtually the only one used in our temples), they prescribe that the deacon girds the orarion in a crosswise fashion during the Lord's Prayer (The Divine Liturgy of M. Saliveros, *Hierotelestikon* of Chrysostomos of Philippi and Neapolis). According to other later editions, this is done when the priest says the prayer for the elevation, "Hearken, O Lord . . ."[262] (Euchologion of M. Saliveros, Hieratikon of the Apostolikē Diakonia, The Slavonic Euchologion, The Divine Liturgies of G. Protopsaltidēs). The edition of the Liturgikon of Rome 1950 provides for the girding of the orarion at almost the same place (when the priest says, "O God, have mercy on me the sinner,"[263] after the prayer, "Hearken, O Lord…").

However, according to all the manuscripts, "the deacon girds the orarion around crosswise" or "binds the two ends of his orarion together" within the holy bēma. A number of them place this rubric immediately after the entrance into the holy bēma after the exclamation, "The Holy Things are for the holy . . ."[264] and before the exhortation ("Break master").[265] These manuscripts are not older than the sixteenth century. The *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* of Philotheos (fourteenth century), and manuscripts obviously dependent upon it, place the rubric after pouring the zeon into the holy chalice and before the communion of the priest. Finally, the brief *Diataxis*

262. "Πρόσχες Κύριε…"
263. "Ὁ Θεός, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ."
264. "Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις…"
265. "Μέλισον, δέσποτα."

of the *Codex Athens 662* from the twelfth–thirteenth century and some manuscripts of the fourteenth century, place the rubric after the communion of the priest and before the deacon's approach for holy communion.[266] However, the majority of the manuscripts, also the most ancient ones, and the old, printed editions say nothing relevant.

As to the time during which the deacon ungirds his orarion, there is also again disagreement among the sources. The *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy*, the manuscripts, and almost all the printed editions do not mention anything about this. Must this silence be interpreted as implying that the deacon remains wrapped with the orarion up until the end of the Liturgy? Only the *Hierotelestikon* of Philippi and Neapolis and the Hieratikon of the Apostolikē Diakonia prescribe that the deacon ungirds the orarion after the placement of the paten in the holy prothesis and before "Always, now and ever . . . ."[267]

After studying this multiplicity of the tradition, we can draw certain conclusions regarding the historical path of this practice in connection with the meaning that our sources give to it. Generally, in our liturgical tradition, the most ancient symbolism prevails that during divine worship the deacons represent the ministering spirits, the angels, who serve at God's altar or who, when roaming about the people of God, minister to their salvation. Consequently, also the orarion, which is the distinction of their rank, was considered—regardless of its historical origin—as representing the angelic wings, and for this reason the triple "Holy" of the Seraphim was embroidered on the orarion. The related description of Pseudo-Germanos of Constantinople is characteristic: "In representation of the angelic powers by the delicate wings of the oraria, the deacons roam about while being dispatched in service as ministering spirits" (*Ecclesiastical*

266. For both the *Diataxis of Philotheos* and the *Codex Athens 662*, see Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 13.

267. "Πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεί..."

History and Mystical Contemplation).[268] Pseudo-Sōphronios gives another symbolism to the orarion. According to him, the orarion is not only "in representation of the wings of the angels," but at the same time "reveals the two covenants" by its two ends, "the new the one in front, the old the one at the back" (*Oration containing all ecclesiastical history*, 8).[269]

How now did the crosswise girding of the orarion come about? The patristic commentators of the Divine Liturgy attribute this to symbolic reasons. Pseudo-Sōphronios, who we saw immediately above, considers it a symbol of the unity ("a mingling") of the two covenants.[270] Symeōn of Thessaloniki, consistent with the ancient symbolism of the angelic wings, compares it with the covering of

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268. PG 98:393c. Phountoulēs omits the word "λεπτῶν" from his citation of this edition, "Οἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τύπον τῶν ἀγγελικῶν Δυνάμεων ταῖς λεπταῖς τῶν λεπτῶν ὡραρίων πτέρυξιν, ὡς λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα προτρέχουσι." St. Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople (r. 715–730), is attributed authorship of a commentary on the Liturgy entitled, *Ἱστορία Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ Μυστικὴ Θεωρία (Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation)*, a work of synthesis, major influence, and importance. For a discussion of authorship and an important study, see René Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie VIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966), 125–180. For its modern translation and an introduction, see Paul Meyendorff, trans., *St. Germanus of Constantinople, On the Divine Liturgy* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984). For a detailed examination of the work's significance, see Robert Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–1981): 45–75.

269. PG 87:3988d. The author is otherwise known as Pseudo-Sōphronios of Jerusalem. According to Bornert, the liturgical commentary falsely attributed to Sōphronios (possibly Saint Sōphronios of Jerusalem, r. 633–638), most likely dates to the twelfth century, but not later than the thirteenth or earlier than the eleventh. Although variously titled, the manuscript contained in *Vaticanus Ottobonianus 459* was the basis for its publication in Migne and was entitled, *Λόγος περιέχων τήν ἐκκλησιαστικήν ἅπασαν ἱστορίαν καὶ λεπτομερῆ ἀφήγησιν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ ἱερουργίᾳ τελουμένων (Oration containing all ecclesiastical history and a detailed narration of all performed in the Divine Sacred-Service)*, PG 87:3981b–4001b. Phountoulēs most likely referenced this edition. For a discussion of the commentary, see René Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie VIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966), 210–211.

270. "διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, ἐὰν μὴ μίξει τὴν Παλαιὰν καὶ τὴν Νέαν, οὐ κοινωνεῖ" (PG 87:3988d).

the faces of the Cherubim before the vision of God: "by which he also imitates the Cherubim who cover their faces and while girding himself, as such he is wrapping himself when he is about to partake" (*Explanation*, chapter 36).[271] In his *Dialogue*, he broadens the meaning and considers it an "indication of restraint, piety, and humility," regardless of the symbolism of the angels' wings (chapter 173).[272] In any case, it is noteworthy that both Pseudo-Sōphronios and Symeōn of Thessaloniki connect the girding of the orarion with the deacon's approach to holy communion ("At the communion... if he does not mingle, he does not commune,"[273] Pseudo-Sōphronios. "At the communion," "when he is about to partake,"[274] Symeōn of Thessaloniki). This is in line with what the older manuscripts and the Diataxeis prescribe; that the Deacon wraps around the orarion shortly before his communion. Was it the symbolism that brought about the girding of the orarion? Symbolisms usually come afterward in order to give a theological meaning to an already established practice that practical reasons brought about. In this instance, a practical reason would be the need for the deacon's movements not to be impeded by the orarion during the communion, namely, to be more agile. However, the symbolism is quite old and conversely it is not ruled out that this symbolism brought about the practice. Namely, the deacons may have actually wished to imitate the angels also in this way, who fold in their wings—their orarion—when they draw near to God.

As we also wrote at the beginning, it is indisputable that the Diataxeis and liturgical manuscripts, as well as the symbolic explanations, connect the girding of the orarion with holy communion whether this originated from practical or symbolic reasons. Retro-

271. Adapted from Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessaloniki*, 100-101.

272. PG 155:381b. The word "συστολή" is being translated here "restraint," in its sense as a virtue, although the term can also signify, among its meanings, "contraction," "limitation," "abasing," "humility," pusillanimity," and "fasting" (LSJ, s.v. "συστολή, ἡ (συστέλλω)").

273. PG 87:3988d. This refers to the "mingling" or unity of the two covenants.

274. Adapted from Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessaloniki*, 100–101.

spection again into the liturgical practice has shown that a form of "nervousness"[275] became prevalent during the girding of the orarion and its ungirding, which had as a consequence the time of its girding and ungirding gradually being accelerated. Thus, from communion we arrived at "Our Father . . . ." However, inasmuch as the purpose of this practice is to approach or in general to assist during holy communion, this haste is unjustified. The deacon has plenty of the time for making the cross with his orarion when he enters the bēma. "Our Father . . ." and "Hearken, O Lord Jesus Christ our God . . ." do not provide the appropriate time. Moreover, it is also not very seemly, during the time of the recitation of these most sacred prayers, for the deacon to be struggling to gird himself with the orarion before all the people, occasionally even holding a dikērion—without regard for the daring of the congregation to call upon the heavenly God as Father and to beseech the Lord invisibly present with us to come and to sanctify us through the communion of the mysteries. This practice is not prescribed at that time by any manuscript.

Moreover, the ungirding of the orarion must not be done before the communion of the faithful, as sometimes takes places. During the communion of the people, the deacon does not commune himself—as we will see in another answer—but assists the priest. The printed editions also place the ungirding after "Always . . . ." However, inasmuch as the deacon will shortly be consuming the Holy Elements, I have the opinion, that he also again must not hurry to ungird the orarion for the small synaptē alone ("Arise. Having partaken . . ").[276] The Diataxeis and the manuscripts obviously also imply this, which, while they speak about the girding, make no mention of the ungirding of the orarion. The deacon most likely also remained girded up until the end of the Liturgy and the consumption of the Mysteries.

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275. "νευρικότητος." In other words, "nervousness" about disrupting the service.

276. "Ὀρθοὶ μεταλαβόντες..."

333

In the Divine Liturgy there is a petition "For the precious gifts offered and consecrated let us pray to the Lord."[277] Is it possible for us to pray "for"[278] the precious consecrated gifts, namely, for the Body and Blood of Christ? Must we perhaps say, "Before the offered . . ."[279]?

In this petition, there is admittedly an interpretative difficulty that has been noted by many. Fr. Gervasios Paraskevopoulos characteristically observes: "We are unable to solve the question that is generated by the entreaty above; nor does the following final suggestion fully answer the question. After the precious gifts were consecrated, why—we ask—do we pray 'for' them?" (*An Interpretive Overview on the Divine Liturgy*, Patras 1958, p. 228, footnote 1).[280] As correctly framed both in the question and in the citation above from the book of Fr. Gervasios, the difficulty derives from doctrinal reasons: the precious gifts are consecrated—they are Christ himself; how will we pray for Christ?

Any thought regarding correction must in principle be excluded beforehand. A text that bears the seal of at least fifteen hundred years of continuous liturgical use, with which generations upon generations of our fathers and brothers worshiped God and celebrated the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, we cannot so easily call heretical—because that is where it leads to—even in one of its words. The only thing that could justify such an act would be if the text had not been handed down well and had been corrupted during its copying over the centuries. There is no such possibility here concerning the word "for." The word is found in all the manuscripts without any exceptions at all. And not only this. Petitions parallel with this petition of the Byzantine Liturgies also exist in the same position in two additional very ancient Liturgies of the same Antiochian family, in

277. "Ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἁγιασθέντων τιμίων δώρων τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν."

278. "ὑπέρ."

279. "πρὸ τῶν προσκομισθέντων."

280. Γερβάσιος Χαρ. Παρασκευόπουλος, *Ἑρμηνευτικὴ ἐπιστασία ἐπὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας* (Πάτραι: n.p., 1958), 228, n. 1.

the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions* ("For the gift being offered, let us pray to the Lord our God")[281] and in the Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos the Brother of God ("For the offered and consecrated precious, heavenly, ineffable, undefiled, glorious, awesome, fearsome, and divine gifts, let us pray to the Lord our God").[282] The word "for" in a similar connection also is in the anaphora of the Divine Liturgy of the sacred Chrysostomos: "Again, we offer you this rational worship[283] for those who have reposed in the faith: forefathers, fathers... especially for our all-holy . . . for Saint John . . . ."[284]

With regard to the proposed correction, "Before the offered . . . ," this must be excluded for theological reasons. It is reminiscent of the scholastic eucharistic theology of the West. Such an idea and expression are unknown in Orthodox theology, namely, for us to be invited to pray "before" the precious consecrated gifts.

What must be the right meaning now of the petition, "For the precious gifts offered and consecrated, let us pray to the Lord"? Fr. Gervasios associates 1 Corinthians 11:28–30 ("let a man examine himself...")[285] with the passage in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, "do not hinder the grace of Your Holy Spirit from these gifts presented on account of my sins,"[286] (we shall be concerned with the

281. "Ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου τοῦ προσκομισθέντος Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν," *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.13.3 (SC 336:206–207).

282. "Ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἁγιασθέντων τιμίων, ἐπουρανίων, ἀρρήτων, ἀχράντων, ἐνδόξων, φοβερῶν, φρικτῶν θείων δώρων Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν." B.-Ch. Mercier, ed. and trans., "La Liturgie de Saint Jacques: Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine," *Patrologia Orientalis* 26 (1946): 108.

283. "λογικὴ λατρεία." Lampe, s.v. "λατρεία, ἡ" and "λογικός."

284. "Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων προπατόρων, πατέρων... ἐξαιρέτως τῆς Παναγίας ...τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου...."

285. The mistaken reference, 1 Corinthians 11:29–30, is corrected above.

286. The full sentence from the anaphora reads, "Remember, Lord, my unworthiness according to the multitude of Your mercies; forgive me every transgression, both voluntary and involuntary; and do not hinder the grace of Your Holy Spirit from these gifts presented on account of my sins," (Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναξιότητος· συγχώρησόν μοι πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον καὶ μὴ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἁμαρτίας κωλύσῃς τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος ἀπὸ τῶν προκειμένων δώρων).

meaning of this phrase in another answer),[287] and with the third petition, "That our God the lover of humankind . . ."[288] and, while distinguishing both "sanctifying"[289] and "imparted"[290] grace, gives a quite satisfactory explanation: "Would that the unworthiness of the celebrant and the communicants not impede the cathartic and sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, but let it become for them 'a fire consuming' every impurity and any type of sin. And to put it more simply: Let the partaking of your undefiled mysteries, O Lord, become for us, although unworthy, for forgiveness of sins and life eternal" (see above, pp. 228–229).

It is obviously more correct for this phrase to be associated only with the next petition, which, like a final clause, is dependent upon the previous one, completes it, and especially determines the entreaties that we ask from God in connection with the sacrifice: "the divine grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit," that is, without any relevance to the unworthiness of the celebrants and the people. It would fit better for the "for" (ὑπέρ) to be rendered "by" (διά),[291] as professor Panagiōtēs Trempelas translates: "By the precious gifts offered and sanctified as a sacrifice upon the altar, let us pray to the Lord. In order that our God who loves humankind, the one who has received them . . . will send forth to us in its place the divine grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit, let us pray" (*Leitourgikon*, Athens 1963, p. 127).[292]

We find the excellent interpretation of the entreaty and the complete settlement of the associated difficulty in the *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy* of Nikolaos Kabasilas: "And what does he say? 'Let us pray to the Lord for the sanctified gifts,' not so that they may receive sanctification (for this reason he called them sanctified in order that

287. Phountoulēs address the issue in question 411.

288. "Ὅπως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν..."

289. "ἁγιαστική."

290. "μεταδοτική."

291. In the sense of "by means of" so that as Phountoulēs states, the next petition is the clause dependent on the prior one and sets forth the entreaty that by means of these gifts offered and sanctified, God will send forth the Holy Spirit's divine grace and gift.

292. Παναγιώτης Τρεμπέλας, *Λειτουργικόν* (Ἀθῆναι: Ἀδελφότης θεολόγων "Ὁ Σωτήρ," 1963), 127.

you not think this) but in order for them to impart [the sanctification] to us; for this is [the meaning of] 'God who loves humankind, who receiving them, sends down in return grace to us.' 'Let us pray,' he says, 'for the gifts' to become active in us, so that they are not powerless for this grace, just as at that time when this all-powerful Body [of the Lord][293] appeared among the people, and in certain cities He was unable to perform miracles on account of their lack of faith" (chapter 34.8).[294]

334

Must the kneeling prayers for Pentecost be said by the priest facing east, namely, towards the holy table, or facing west, namely, towards the people?

Everywhere, the kneeling prayers for Pentecost are said from the beautiful gate by the priest turned towards the people. The rubrics of the manuscripts present a relative ambiguity. In general, they agree that while "the brothers bend their knees on the ground as well as their necks" (there is also an allusion in the first prayer, "to offer prayers while bending the knees and neck"), the priest says the prayers "from the bēma"[295] or "within the holy bēma"[296] "in earshot"[297] or "within earshot of all"[298] or "in a loud voice within earshot of all,"[299] "slowly and with attention"[300] (*Codices Athens 788, Vatican 1877, Vatopediou 320, Messina 115, Paris Coisl. 213, Sinai 973, 1101, 1097*, and others). The printed editions repeat the same standard rubrics almost verbatim. Some codices prescribe that the priest "bowed the head for a short time"[301] when he read the prayers (*Athens 788, Messina 115*).

293. The "all-powerful Body" (τὸ πᾶν τὸ δυνάμενον τοῦτο σῶμα) refers to Christ in His earthly ministry.

294. Matt 13:58, Mark 6:5–6; Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 34.8 (SC 4bis:216–217).

295. "ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος."

296. "ἔσωθεν τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος."

297. "ἐν ἐπηκόῳ."

298. "εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων."

299. "μεγαλοφώνως εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων."

300. "ἀργῶς καὶ μετὰ προσοχῆς."

301. "ἔκλινεν ἐπ' ὀλίγον τὴν κεφαλήν."

The position and the place of the priest are not prescribed precisely; "within the bēma" and "bowing the head for a short time" leave the impression that the priest is standing within the bēma, perhaps also facing east.

However, the unanimous living tradition desires the priest turned to the west and also himself bending the knees. On this basis, the obscurities of the rubrics must be explained. These rubrics did not produce the taxis, but recorded it, without meddling regarding subjects familiar to all from practice. It is obvious that in the case of the kneeling prayers for Pentecost a very ancient practice is preserved according to which the prayers were said from the sacred bēma, but with the face of the priest turned to the people. In the ancient era, even the prayers of the Divine Liturgy were said by the priest looking towards the west, towards the people, from the back of the holy table.

335

During the distribution of the antidōron, some chanters are accustomed to chant katabasies. Is this correct?

I hold the opinion that the custom of many chanters to chant katabasies during the distribution of the antidōron must be encouraged and, I would say, even be formally implemented. And this for many reasons. First of all, the practical reasons: During the time for distribution of the antidōron, it is a well-known secret that the taxis in our temples is slackened. Disorder, conversations, and so forth are not uncommon. The continuation of the chanting in one way or another contains the situation and covers the noise that is caused by the movement of the people. The katabasies themselves are among the most beautiful and ancient hymnological compositions of our ecclesiastical poetry, connecting Sunday with the subject of the nearest feast, and their musical intonation is always beautiful and rhythmical, especially when they are not chanted slowly. Especially the katabasies for the Mother of God also harmonize with the antidōron's symbolism pertaining to the Mother of God, which is given to us by the Fathers. Moreover, they provide the opportunity

to the people that do not come so early to the church in order to attend Matins, at least to hear them at the end of the Liturgy. They have further in their favor that, in relation to other hymns of the Church, they are quite well known by Christians, so that they can easily follow their meaning.

Formerly, during the distribution of the antidōron, Psalm 33 was chanted or read ("I will bless the Lord at all times . . ."),[302] the ancient communion psalm (for its sixth verse, "Come unto him and be enlightened"[303] and its ninth verse, "Taste and see that the Lord is good"[304]), just as it is done nowadays in the Presanctified Liturgy and in the service of the typika in the sacred monasteries. The dismissal took place after the psalm, or, in a later era, the dismissal was said before the psalm and "Through the prayers of our holy Fathers . . ." after the psalm, just as nowadays in the Presanctified. In other words, the distribution of the antidōron was inserted in this manner within the Liturgy. And this psalm, inasmuch as it is not chanted during the koinōnikon, could easily be chanted during the distribution of the antidōron. This would also be more consistent with tradition. A likewise appropriate psalm is Psalm 144 ("I will exalt you, my God, my king . . ."),[305] which is found in the service of the trapeza and is read during the distribution of the antidōron in the Presanctified after Psalm 33. This psalm is also excellently combined with providing material and spiritual nourishment because of verse fifteen ("The eyes of all hope in you, and you give their food in due season").[306] The polyeleos is also appropriate in the same manner, "Give thanks to the Lord for he is good . . ."[307] (Psalm 135) and "Servants, the Lord, praise the name of the Lord . . ."[308] (Psalm 134), the polyeleos of the Mother of God, "Good word,"[309] for feasts

302. "Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ..."
303. "Προσέλθετε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φωτίσθητε."
304. "Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος..."
305. "Ὑψώσω σε, ὁ Θεός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς μου..."
306. "Οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ."
307. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἀγαθός..."
308. "Δοῦλοι, Κύριον...," the introduction to Psalm 134:1.
309. "Λόγον ἀγαθόν..."

of the Mother of God (Psalm 44), "By the river of Babylon..."[310] (Psalm 136) for Lent, or psalm selections of feasts, psalms of the typika for Sundays, and so forth.

It is a common observation that during the distribution of the antidōron something must be chanted. As we saw, tradition requires it. The lack of a prescription by the Typikon gives us great freedom of choice, either alternately chanting katabasies or the psalms that we noted above.[311]

336

In concelebration, what must be chanted, "I will love you, O Lord . . ."[312] or "Father, Son . . ."[313]? Why must the latter be left out?[314]

It is well known that the kiss of peace, which precedes the prayer of the anaphora, was given by the entire congregation in the early period, as it is still done up until nowadays in the Armenian Church. However, in general, the kiss appears to have long ago fallen into disuse in the Orthodox Church. During the Liturgy celebrated by the priest alone, the kiss is formally restricted only to the holy gifts. During concelebrations, the ancient taxis is partially preserved, and the priests kiss one another. This exchange of the kiss lasts quite some time since the kiss is given by all to all. The exchange of the

310. "Ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Βαβυλῶνος..."

311. In the Church of Greece, it is not uncommon for katabasies to now be chanted in parishes, especially in larger cities, but this is not a universal practice.

312. "Ἀγαπήσω σε, Κύριε..."

313. "Πατέρα, Υἱόν..."

314. This established liturgical practice of chanting "I will love you, O Lord..." during concelebrations is generally unknown in most parishes of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. It is not recorded in the latest version of the Archdiocese's Divine Liturgy book (2018), which only has "Father, Son..." and does not specify the use of the other hymn during concelebrations. On the other hand, the rubric is specified by the *Συλλειτουργικόν* of Simōnopetra for concelebrations (2014) and the Enkolpion for the Reader and Chanter of the Apostolikē Diakonia (6th ed., 2005). Nevertheless, the Hieratikon of the Apostolikē Diakonia and Simōnopetra do not contain the rubric for the chanting of "I will love you, O Lord..." during concelebrations, but only retain this phrase as said within the bēma by the priest.

kiss among the people would require much more time in the ancient church, since it appears that it was given in the same form that is followed nowadays by the clergy. Namely, all the men kissed all the men and all the women the women who were found in the temple (see *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.11: "and let those of the clergy kiss the bishop, let the laymen kiss the laymen and let the women kiss the women").[315] But even according to another way of kissing, which is followed nowadays by the Armenians, which also perhaps is the more ancient form, where everyone kisses only the person next to them and thus in some manner the kiss is successively passed on from the first up until the last person, again while less, quite some time is required.

Was nothing chanted to cover this empty time for kissing? We do not have any relevant witnesses or even hints from the ancient texts. The testimony of Justin (second century) "ceasing from prayers, we greet one another with a kiss" (*First Apology* 65.9), is much too old as to enlighten us about the era where the taxis of the Liturgy had developed.[316] The phrase "ceasing from prayers," perhaps suggests an interval of silence, not only from prayers but also from chanting. The same also in the ancient Liturgies of Saint Iakōvos and Markos. Between the diaconal exhortation for the kiss and the next diaconal exhortation that is done "after the kiss," there does not exist a provision for any hymn that was to be chanted by the people. However, generally, the manuscripts, even also the old, printed editions of the Liturgies, are texts intended for the priests, and indications about what is said by the people rarely exist in them.[317]

In the Armenian Liturgy, where, as we saw, the kiss is preserved, a special hymn for the kiss is provided: "Christ appeared in our

315. *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.11.9 (SC 336:174–175).

316. Justin Martyr, *Apology on Behalf of Christians* 65.2. Phountoulēs follows the reference from PG 6:428a–428b. The text reference here and modified translation are from Denis Minns and Paul Parvis, eds. and trans., *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 252–253.

317. This could explain the difference noted above regarding the rubric's presence in books intended for chanter and reader, but not in those for the clergy, such as Hieratika, even during the modern period.

midst . . . ," which is intended to cover the kiss with chanting. This encourages us to seek something parallel in the Byzantine Liturgies. "Father, Son..." cannot be what is being sought because it is both brief, indeed formerly it was even recited, and has no relation to the kiss. It constitutes a summary of the Symbol of Faith and is connected with the second part of the diaconal exhortation ("that with one mind we may confess")[318] and not with the first part that refers to the kiss ("Let us love one another").[319] However, this entire diaconal phrase must be later, since it speaks regarding the recitation of a "confession"/"Symbol," which is known to have been introduced into our Liturgy during the sixth century. The ancient Liturgies have a special exhortation that refers only to the kiss, inasmuch as during that era it had not yet fallen into disuse: "Let us love [or greet] one another with a holy kiss"[320] (Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Saint Iakōvos), "Greet one another with a holy kiss"[321] (Markos). A similar diaconal command would have also existed in the Byzantine Liturgies before the Symbol was introduced. It is very probable that its second part was adapted when the Symbol was introduced, and the kiss of peace ceased to be given and, together with it, the related hymn that would be chanted during the time of the kiss also fell into disuse. The weight was shifted to the Symbol.

From the Diataxeis of the Divine Liturgy and the manuscripts, as well as from contemporary practice, we see that the priests when they kiss the holy gifts say the psalmic verse "I will love you, O Lord..."[322] (Psalm 17:1). According to some manuscripts and printed editions, it is said three times. According to others, the second verse of the same psalm ("My God is my helper, and I will hope in him")[323] is also added to this verse. Generally, the use of a psalmic

318. "Ἵνα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ὁμολογήσωμεν."

319. "Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους."

320. "Ἀγαπήσωμεν [ἢ ἀσπασώμεθα] ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ." *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.11.9 (SC 336:174–175).

321. "Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ." Geofrey J. Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark*, 234 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 102–103.

322. "Ἀγαπήσω σε, Κύριε..."

323. "Ὁ Θεός μου βοηθός μου καὶ ἐλπιῶ ἐπ' αὐτόν." Phountoulēs is correctly citing the latter as part of the second verse of the psalm and pointing out that

verse, its triple repetition, and the expansion to the following verse represents an antiquity. Once again, the persistent testimony of the manuscript codices and of Diataxeis obviously demonstrate the universality of the recitation of "I will love you, O Lord . . . ," which at the same time both testifies to the antiquity of this verse's use and to its connection with the kiss. Even the preservation of the kiss during concelebrations and the concurrent chanting of "I will love you, O Lord . . ." encourages us to hypothesize that together with the kiss the chanting of the psalm—perhaps according to a selection of verses with the first verse as an ephymnion ("I will love you . . ."), consistent with the ancient manner of "asmatic" chanting—was also accordingly preserved, and this would be chanted for covering the empty time during the exchange of the kiss. However, the chronological distance since the abandonment of the kiss is great and we cannot speak with absolute certainty.

However, in any case, during the usual priestly celebration, as long as the kiss is not given, the weight falls on the expectation of the confession, the Symbol of Faith, and for this reason "Father, Son and Holy Spirit . . ." is said, namely, the brief summary of the Symbol ("and the faithful cry aloud, 'God, who must be confessed, the Holy Trinity,'" Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy,* 25.2).[324] During concelebrations, again, as long as the kiss of peace is given, at least among the celebrants, the weight remains on the kiss and the time is covered with the chanting of the appropriate psalmic verse, which likely also preserves the ancient practice. "Father, Son..." is not properly said then; it is, on the other hand, a response not to the main exhortation[325] for the kiss, but to the

in manuscripts and even some old, printed editions this addition takes place. He also appears to be grouping "The Lord is my foundation and my refuge and my deliverer" (Κύριος στερέωμά μου καὶ καταφυγή μου καὶ ῥύστης μου) with the first verse as indicated by his citation of the latter with a continuation indicated ("Ἀγαπήσω σε, Κύριε...). The combination of the latter ("Ἀγαπήσω σε, Κύριε· Κύριος στερέωμά μου καὶ καταφυγή μου καὶ ῥύστης μου") matches the current liturgical practice.

324. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy,* 25.2 (SC 4bis:166–169).

325. The "main exhortation" is its first half, "Let us love one another" (Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους).

rationale dependent on it,[326] for which the kiss among the members of the Church is introduced.[327] Before long, the confession of faith will be done completely through the Symbol of Faith. Its summary is unnecessary.

337

How must the priest bless during, "Save, O God, your people . . ."[328] after holy Communion? By the holy chalice, with his hand under the holy chalice, with his hand on the right of the holy chalice, or with his hand after he first places the holy chalice on the holy table?[329]

One can nowadays encounter all the above ways of blessing in our liturgical practice. How did this variety of ways come about and which of all these methods is the correct one? It is a quite difficult question because the tradition for this point of the Divine Liturgy is confusing.

A blessing of the people after holy communion, with "Save, O God, your people . . ." or with any other form, is not encountered in the ancient Liturgies of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Saint Iakōvos, and Saint Markos the Evangelist. This is an indication that it did not originally exist in the Byzantine Liturgies of Basileios the Great, the sacred Chrysostomos, and the Presanctified. Indeed, the blessing is not encountered in the *Codex Barberini 336* from the eighth–ninth century and in ancient manuscripts. "Save, O God, your people . . ." is found in the old *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* of the *Codex Athens 662* from the twelfth–thirteenth century, in the *Diataxis of the Di-*

326. The "rationale" is the exhortation's other half, "that with one mind we may confess," (Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους ἵνα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ὁμολογήσωμεν). The kiss precedes the confession of faith. In this sense, the confession (the "rationale") is liturgically dependent on the kiss.

327. Although complex, this sentence is an overall commentary on the meaning of both parts of the exhortation while showing at the same time that the chanted phrase, "Father, Son . . . ," is not its correct response.

328. "Σῶσον ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαόν σου . . ."

329. This question is referring to the liturgical action of the priest's raising of the chalice towards the people immediately after the conclusion of holy communion. The question centers on the chalice and varying positions of the priest's hand in conveying the blessing.

vine Liturgy of Philotheos (*Codex Panteleēmonos 6277-770* from the fourteenth century), and in relatively quite a few manuscripts; but it is said by the priest "quietly"[330] or "to himself."[331] The phrase of blessing "is uttered in a loud voice"[332] only in later manuscripts from the sixteenth century onwards. It has now become completely prevalent. The sacred commentators of the Divine Liturgy know this blessing and the phrase that accompanies it, but do not tell us whether it was said "in a loud voice" or "quietly." Pseudo-Theodōros the Stoudite mentions it in the *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts*,[333] Nikolaos Kabasilas in the *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy* ("Next the priest prays for the blessing and salvation from God for those who have partaken of the mysteries. And what is the prayer? 'Save, O God, your people . . .'" 40, 1),[334] and Symeōn of Thessaloniki ("And having thus prayed for the inheritance of God and his own people, the bishop leaves . . . ,"[335] *Explanation,* 100 and "Afterwards, the blessing is given to the people, as if from the Savior himself, a blessing which the hierarch does and prays for the salvation of all,"[336] *Dialogue*, chapter 99).

The Diataxeis, manuscripts, and commentators of the Divine Liturgy always speak about a blessing that accompanied the phrase of blessing "Save, O God, your people . . . ." They use characteristic phrases, such as "he blesses [or blessing] the people,"[337] "he seals [or sealing] the people,"[338] "he makes the sign of the cross upon the

330. "ἡσύχως."

331. "καθ' ἑαυτόν." Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 15.

332. "ἐπιλέγεται μεγαλοφώνως."

333. PG 99:1689b.

334. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 40.1 (SC 4bis:234–235).

335. Adapted from Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessaloni-ka*,156–157.

336. Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessalonika*, 260–261.

337. "εὐλογεῖ (ἢ εὐλογήσας) τὸν λαόν."

338. "σφραγίζει (ἢ σφραγίσας) τὸν λαόν." The word "seal" (σφραγίς) and associated terms can refer to the sign of the cross traced on a person or to an anointing. In this case, the verb "σφραγίζω" is referring to the "signing" or tracing of the form of the cross and not an anointment. For a brief discussion of this use, see Byron David Stuhlman, *The Initiatory Process in the Byzantine Tradition, Texts in Translation from Early Manuscripts of the Euchology and Typikon*

people,"[339] "he seals all,"[340] "he gives a blessing"[341] (Symeōn) or "he traces the divine sign of the cross"[342] (the Stoudite). However, how was the blessing given, with the holy chalice or with the hand? The first way is excluded both for theological reasons and from the indications of the manuscripts. The liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church does not know a blessing by the holy Mysteries. While belief in the change of the precious gifts into the Body and Blood of Christ and in the real presence of Christ under the consecrated eucharistic species is unshakeable and while honor and worshipful reverence is bestowed to them, as to Christ himself, the Holy Eucharist never deviates from its purpose, which is one and only: the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord by the faithful. Mētrophanēs Kritopoulos notes characteristically in his *Confession* of faith while referring to the excesses of the Latin Church: "This [the Holy Mystery] is not given to us to be carried around through the public squares, but to be piously partaken, according to the words of the Lord" (chapter 9).[343] The indications again of the manuscripts preclude the

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of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, with a brief commentary, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 18 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 17.

339. "σταυρώνει τὸν λαόν."

340. "σφραγίζει πάντας."

341. "εὐλογία δίδοται." Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessalonika*, 260.

342. "ἐπιχαράττει τὸ θεῖον σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ." The text reads, "ἐπιχαράττων," PG 99:1689b.

343. Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος, *Ὁμολογία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς, συγγραφεῖσα ἐν ἐπιτομῇ διὰ Μητροφάνους ἱερομονάχου Πατριαρχικοῦ τε Πρωτοσυγγέλου τοῦ Κριτόπουλου, Confessio catholicae et apostolicae in Oriente Ecclesiae, conscripta compendiose per Metrophanem Critopulum hieromonachum quondam et patriarchalem Constantinopolitanum protosyngelum, edita et latinate donate a Joanne Horneio, Acad. Jul. P.,* (Helmstedt: n.p., 1661), 103. Mētrophanēs Kritopoulos (1589–1639) was a patriarch of Alexandria (r. 1636–1639) and the author of this confessional statement composed 1624–1625, which may be found in Ἰωάννης Καρμίρης, *Τὰ Δόγματα καὶ Συμβολικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, 2nd ed. (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1968), 2:498–561. Among the many studies of the Confession, see the introduction of Karmirēs, 489–497; David Heith-Stade, "Eastern Orthodox Ecclesiologies in the Era of Confessionalism," *Theoforum* 41 (2010): 373–385; and Colin Davey, *Pioneer for unity: Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589–1639) and relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed churches* (London: British Council of Churches, 1987).

blessing by the holy chalice because the holy chalice at that moment is either held by the deacon, when the faithful have not approached for holy communion ("blesses the people, while the deacon holds the holy chalice"), or has already been placed on the holy table. The modern printed editions are consistent with the above rubrics of the manuscripts that prescribe that the blessing is given by the hand of the priest while the deacon holds the holy chalice, or that establish the blessing after the placement of the holy chalice on the holy table (for example, see the Hieratikon, edition of the Apostolikē Diakonia 1968, *Hierotelestikon,* Athens 1948, and so forth). All the above rubrics presuppose a celebration of the Divine Liturgy with the participation of a deacon.

However, the celebration of the Divine Liturgy by only the priest, which became generalized during the Tourkokratia,[344] was bound to cause technical difficulties that had as a result the creation of certain practical solutions, especially given that there did not exist a relevant provision by the old rubrics. The priest now himself held the holy chalice whether or not the faithful came to holy communion. After all, the people's attendance at the mysteries was very sparse, and the transfer of communion to the end of the Divine Liturgy likewise also became prevalent. Thus, "Save, O God, your people . . ." drew so close to "With the fear of God . . ."[345] that it ended up like one single phrase. It was more practical for the priest not to place the holy chalice on the holy table and not to turn again for the blessing to avoid a double movement. He held the holy chalice with the left and with his right hand blessed either from the side or below the holy chalice, possibly out of reverence for it. The blessing with the holy chalice appears very modern.

And in order to summarize:

a) When a deacon concelebrates, the correct thing is, as the tradition shows, for the deacon to hold the chalice and for the priest to bless by hand, if there is no attendance at holy communion.

344. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

345. "Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ..."

b) If there is attendance at holy communion or if the priest serves alone, the correct thing is for him to place the holy chalice upon the holy table and to turn to bless the people by hand, or more simply to bless again by hand under or to the right of the holy chalice according to the local tradition.

The blessing by a crosswise movement of the holy chalice must be completely excluded for the reasons that we mentioned above.

338

Is it permitted for the polyeleos or "Where will I go . . ."[346] and so forth, to be chanted instead of the koinōnikon?

339

Must, "Of your mystical supper . . . ,"[347] alone be continuously chanted when many faithful approach for holy communion?

The answer to the first question can only be a negative one. The ecclesiastical taxis has been prescribed by the liturgical tradition of the Church and has been expressed in certain liturgical forms that have been delineated by the Typika. Respect for these rubrics is imperative not as a blind formalism and attachment to dead letter, but as a living and voluntary compliance with the traditional taxis that concerns the very institution of the Church. Divine worship is the Church's worship, a public work, as the term 'liturgy' itself says,[348] that is exercised within the hierarchically structured ecclesiastical community, which, even in its smallest representation, expresses the presence and the activity of the universal Church itself—of the catholic Church of today that extends from one end of the earth to the other, and of yesterday, of the generations who passed from the world and will forever constitute members inseparable from its own mystical body. Every liturgical action, rite, prayer, and chant is

346. "Ποῦ πορευθῶ..."
347. "Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ..."
348. The term, "λειτουργία," denotes "public service," in its root meaning (LSJ, s.v. "λειτουργία, ἡ").

integrated within this ecumenical and eternal Liturgy. The priest, deacon, reader, chanter, and people do not perform or conduct something of their own, but rather they act in worship as recipients of the Church's commands.[349] They carry out a public work and not one personal or individual. They do not have the right to do or to say whatever they wish—they can do this only in their individual private prayer— but rather whatever the ecclesiastical taxis requires and sets forth. This precisely safeguards ecclesiastical worship and protects it from arbitrary actions, good or often bad, of each one of us. This does not mean rigidity or dryness of worship, but a relative stabilization of forms that are developed, however, in a natural and unforced manner, always under the breath and guidance of the Holy Spirit who forms the entire institution of the Church.

All this regarding the koinōnikon? Yes, also regarding the koinōnikon. And as an element of worship, it is subject to the same rules and is integrated within the same liturgical deontology that pertains to traditional liturgical forms. Its handling cannot be done without the knowledge of the purpose and the meaning of this chant, its development, the possibilities that tradition provides us, and, naturally, the needs and the problems of our contemporary liturgical life. Because this is precisely the meaning of living tradition; not only to confirm the authenticity of the current forms, but also to revive them while bringing them back to their actual youthful beauty. Regarding the koinōnikon, certainly, and other similar hymnological compositions, greater vigilance and care is required. And this is because they are found in the hands of the chanters, most of whom can be very devout Christians, and fine-voiced, musically trained chanters, but few have theological education and proper liturgical training.

Especially regarding ecclesiastical music, we must not forget that it is the adornment and the musical garment for the sacred hymns, and that it serves worship and is integrated within its entire liturgical climate. It is not an end, but a means. When the means is diverted

349. "ἐντολοδόχοι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας."

in purpose, we find ourselves before an adulterated condition that is catastrophic for true worship. Furthermore, we must not forget that the hymns and the chanting in Church are a work of the people. The more the chanter is isolated from the people, the more he will stray from the right path and liturgical deontology. At the time that the Church was found at a high spiritual and theological peak, both the clergy and the people, and naturally also the chanters, were catechized and consciously knew and lived the liturgical life of the Church. The dangers of deviations were less. When theological education and catechism deteriorated and the Church as a whole lived in times of a nearly general decline, the deviations from the correct liturgical tradition were also not rare. We can see all these variances also reflected in the course of development for the koinōnikon.

The koinōnikon is chanting that has the purpose of covering the time required for the holy communion of the whole Church, clergy and people. This is historically indisputable. According to all the ancient sources, the chanting of the koinōnikon was not limited only to the communion of the clergy but was also extended to the communion of the people and lasted as long as it did. Namely, the chanting stopped when the communion of all finished. We have a first alteration of the correct tradition at this point. Nowadays, the chanting of the koinōnikon is restricted to the communion of the clergy and is interrupted with the deacon's exhortation for the faithful's approach for holy communion. Why this happened is easy to explain. Christians were not coming to communion except only at sparse time intervals, or the bad custom had become prevalent for holy communion to be transferred to the end, after the dismissal of the Divine Liturgy. But in this way, the proper aim of the koinōnikon was forgotten and nowadays, when the faithful approach for holy communion, the chanters chant the koinōnikon of Great Thursday ("Of your mystical supper..."),[350] fitting to be sure, but unable to reasonably cover all the time required for the approach of many faithful for holy communion. Thus, the impression

350. "Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ..."

is created that communion causes more of a hiatus and a purposeless delay in the Liturgy, that the mystery was not done for holy communion. Namely, this purpose of the mystery is disregarded, and a most crucial point of the entire celebration is pushed aside. The continuation of the koinōnikon is the only correct and traditional solution.

These points are an answer to the second question.

The koinōnikon is initially a verse of a psalm that has been selected for the eucharistic meaning that ecclesiastical interpretation gave to it. Its content was also an encouragement for attendance at holy communion. Such koinōnika are "Taste and see that the Lord is good . . ."[351] (Psalm 33:9), "I will take the cup of salvation, and I will call upon the name of the Lord"[352] (Psalm 115:4), and others that are not in use nowadays, such as "Come to him and be enlightened, and your faces will not be ashamed"[353] (Psalm 33:6), "You prepare a table before me in the presence of those who afflict me . . . and your cup intoxicates me as most excellent"[354] (Psalm 22:5), "The eyes of all hope in you, and you give their food in due season."[355] (Psalm 144:15). These koinōnika were chanted at all the Liturgies, regardless of the feast, since their subject was holy communion. These also must be the most ancient ones. Gradually, however, the predominant feast, or the special occasion for which the Liturgy was performed, entered into the compendium[356] of koinōnika. And these are psalmic verses prophetically referring to the subjects of the feast, the attributes of saints, or other occasions. Thus, we have the doxological Sunday koinōnikon, "Praise the Lord from the heavens"[357] (Psalm 148:1), and the familiar variety of koinōnika for the feasts of the Lord, for the feast of angels, apostles, martyrs, blessed ones, and

351. "Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος..."

352. "Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐπικαλέσομαι."

353. "Προσέλθετε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φωτίσθητε καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ."

354. "Ἡτοίμασας ἐνώπιόν μου τράπεζαν ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν θλιβόντων με... καὶ τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον με ὡσεὶ κράτισον."

355. "Οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ."

356. "θεματολόγιον."

357. "Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν."

so forth, as well as funereal koinōnika, of dedications,[358] and so forth ("The Lord sent redemption to his people,"[359] Psalm 110:9, for the Nativity; "Who made his angels spirits . . . ,"[360] Psalm 103:4, for the Archangels; "Their sound has gone forth into all the earth . . . ,"[361] Psalm 18:5, for the Apostles; "Blessed are they whom you chose and took to yourself, O Lord . . . . . ,"[362] Psalm 64:4, funereal, and so forth). Parallel to the psalmic koinōnika above, others also appeared, more as exceptions, gathered from biblical verses that refer to eucharistic themes or to feasts (for example, "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him," John 6:56, for Mid-Pentecost; "For the grace of God has appeared for the salvation of all," Titus 2:11,[363] for Theophany) or free hymnological compositions encouraging for holy communion (for example, "Partake of the Body of Christ, taste the fountain of immortality,"[364] for Pascha; "Of your mystical supper . . . ," for Great Thursday).

From all that we wrote, it seemed clear that koinōnika are not a verse that haphazardly entered at this point of the Divine Liturgy. They have been selected or composed with much knowledge and attention and either refer to holy communion or connect Liturgy and feast. We have no right, therefore, to spurn the Church's taxis that wisely provides for the use of certain koinōnika for certain days. Nor does the simple recitation of the verse from the provided koinōnikon (in order that the chanting afterwards changes to other subjects because the choir only knows how to chant these) provides an exemption from the genuine obligation for compliance with the taxis.[365]

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358. 'Dedications' here refers to the consecrations of temples and so forth. There are also feasts commemorating significant past dedications.

359. "Λύτρωσιν ἀπέστειλε Κύριος τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ."

360. "Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα..."

361. "Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν..."

362. "Μακάριοι οὓς ἐξελέξω καὶ προσελάβου, Κύριε..."

363. The text has a misprint in incorrectly citing 3:11.

364. "Σῶμα Χριστοῦ μεταλάβετε, πηγῆς ἀθανάτου γεύσασθε..."

365. Unfortunately, this practice of simply reading the required koinōnikon and then chanting other compositions having nothing to do with the taxis is common. There is also a modern tendency to read verses from the communion prayers, a practice having nothing to do with the prescribed taxis. In certain cases, this can result in a koinōnikon never being chanted at all.

The variety of koinōnika is so great—the ones that we mentioned above, as it is well known, are only a small part of the whole—that there is never a danger of satiety. The Church anticipated the need for change and variety and has achieved this in the best and most rich manner.

However, we very often hear nowadays in our temples something else chanted instead of the koinōnikon: the polyeleos, "Servants, the Lord,"[366] "By the river of Babylon,"[367] "Good word,"[368] the typika, the amōmos,[369] "Where will I go . . . ," and sometimes even troparia to the Mother of God, other troparia, psalms, and so forth. This is not done without reason. Our chanters are musicians, artists, living in our time and are aware of the artistic tendencies and the musical taste of our contemporaries, more so than others who are not musical. In general, it is a common observation that the slow and dragged-out melodies with their many orientalisms are not pleasing to contemporary people, especially the young.[370] When the koinōnika took on the form of these slow melodies, common musical taste was pleased with them, and the secular music followed almost the same lines. Many went to the temples to enjoy slow melodies of such a form. Nowadays the opposite takes place; contemporary people are driven away rather than attracted by this type of music. The musical ideals of our era are completely different. Moreover, our chanters are also aware of the technical difficulties of a slow melody. Its good execution requires an excellent musical knowledge and particular vocal talents. But not all are either teachers of music or beau-

366. "Δοῦλοι, Κύριον."
367. "Ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Βαβυλῶνος."
368. "Λόγον ἀγαθόν."
369. Psalm 118.
370. The word, "ἀνατολισμούς," translated here as "orientalisms," refers to the distortion of chanting, colloquially known as "ἀμανέδες," which takes its name from the musical repetition and elongation of the word, "ἀμάν," in rembetika and other secular music of Asia Minor. In general, modern schools of Byzantine chant consider them inappropriate. The "ἀνατολισμοί" (orientalisms) may be a historical result of the role untrained singers often took in performing both secular and ecclesiastical music and not discerning between their distinct forms.

tiful singers. A quick melody better corresponds both to the musical and the vocal capabilities of most chanters and is more acceptable to popular tastes.[371] However, in the search for the solution, most times a mistaken way out is given for the reasons we mentioned at the beginning of the answer. Thus, we hear on the resurrectional day of Sunday the funereal amōmos,[372] on joyful days the compunctional psalm "By the river of Babylon, there we sat and wept . . . ," and generally other koinōnika instead of others, and unrelated hymnological compositions instead of an exhortation to holy communion.

However, the knowledge and the utilization of the tradition and of the unlimited potentials that it provides us also can again give the proper solution. We said that the koinōnikon is first and foremost a verse of a psalm. The psalm was chanted whole or antiphonally by verse (such as Psalm 50 during the Sunday Matins) or the verses of the psalm were chanted with stichologia and the koinōnikon, namely, the chief verse, was chanted as an ephymnion at each verse, according to the form that nowadays "Arise, O God . . ."[373] on Great Saturday, the prokeimena, and so forth, are chanted. The restoration of this ancient way of chanting will also cover the demand of the times and will be consistent with the tradition and taxis of the Church. Namely, just as the chanters limited the chanting of koinōnika to the slow chanting of one verse by following their own preferences and those of their time, so now again for the same reasons, returning to tradition, they can restore the rhythmical chanting of entire psalms. However, they will chant not just a random psalm or the psalm of their own personal preference, but rather the one that the taxis and the Typikon (from which the koinōnikon has been taken) require and that is consistent with the theme of holy commu-

371. Old and modern published editions of koinōnika include melodies that are "short, longer, and long" (σύντομα, ἀργοσύντομα, καὶ ἀργά) for each koinōnikon. In addition, there are melodies for some entire psalms. However, generally, greater work is needed in this area to provide adequate resources for chanters in order to act on the suggestions being made by Phountoulēs. An example of recent efforts to provide such resources are the publications of the monastery of Simōnopetra on the Holy Mountain, which include entire psalms in Byzantine notation.

372. Psalm 118.

373. "Ἀνάστα, ὁ Θεός..."

nion or with the subject of the applicable feast. Of course, regarding certain koinōnika not from psalms, such as the biblical koinōnika of Pascha, Mid-Pentecost, and the feast of Lights, and the koinōnika that consist of hymnological compositions, such as that of Great Saturday, there is a particular problem requiring a special study of the manuscripts in order for the manner of their ancient stichologia to be found. Perhaps they were also introduced in an era when the chanting of slow koinōnika had become prevalent. But these constitute exceptions. The majority of and the most common koinōnika are psalmic verses. When the entire psalm is chanted, we will also have one other advantage, which we lost with the slow chanting of one verse; the people will once again know the psalms and be nurtured by the solid biblical spiritual nourishment that they provide.

For convenience, we provide below an alphabetical list of the twenty main koinōnika in use with their psalm reference:

Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι, ἐν Κυρίῳ . . .	Rejoice in the Lord, O you righteous…	Psalm 32
Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν…	Praise the Lord from the heavens…	Psalm 148
Ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ…	God went up with shouting…	Psalm 46
Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος	Taste and see that the Lord is good	Psalm 33
Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος	The righteous one shall be in everlasting remembrance…	Psalm 111
Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν…	Their sound went forth to all the earth…	Psalm 18
Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων…	Out of the mouths of infants and nursing babies	Psalm 8
Ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ προσώπου σου…	In the light of the glory of your countenance they will walk…	Psalm 88
Ἐξελέξατο Κύριος τὴν Σιών…	Because the Lord selected Sion…	Psalm 131

Ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν Κύριος...	The Lord God awoke as one that sleeps...	Psalm 77
Ἐπαίνει Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὸν Κύριον...	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem...	Psalm 147
Ἐσημειώθη ἐφ ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς...	O Lord, the light of your countenance was signed upon us...	Psalm 4
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος...	Blessed is he who comes...	Psalm 117
Λύτρωσιν ἀπέστειλε Κύριος...	The Lord sent redemption to his people...	Psalm 110
Μακάριοι οὓς ἐξελέξω καὶ προσελάβου...	Blessed are they whom you chose and took to yourself...	Psalm 64
Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα...	Who made his angels spirits...	Psalm 103
Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι...	I will take the cup of salvation...	Psalm 115
Σωτηρίαν εἰργάσω ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς...	You worked salvation in the midst of the earth...	Psalm 73
Τὸ Πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἀγαθόν...	Your good Spirit will guide me...	Psalm 142
Το Πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον μὴ ἀντανέλῃς...	Take not your Holy Spirit...	Psalm 50

340

What do we mean when in divine worship we say "prokeimenon,"[374] "the evening prokeimenon,"[375] "prokeimenon, tone one,"[376] and so forth?[377]

The term "prokeimenon" (προκείμενον) is an old technical liturgical term that has been preserved in our worship up until nowadays. However, over the passage of centuries it was to be expected for there to be certain shifts both regarding what precisely is the liturgical element named as such and the reason for which it is named in this

374. "προκείμενον."
375. "ἑσπέρας προκείμενον."
376. "προκείμενον, ἦχος α'."
377. On the prokeimenon in this volume, see questions 307, 315, 344, 398, and 399.

manner. All these things are also connected with the development of the prokeimenon, and for this reason, the understanding of this term nowadays can present nothing but difficulties.

A prokeimenon is a verse that is selected from a psalm. If a criterion for the selection is a certain subject, the choice is done freely from all of the psalms of the Psalter. Thus, we have the resurrectional prokeimena of Sunday Matins, the prokeimena of Vespers that are associated with the themes of each day, the prokeimena of the Matins for the feasts of the Lord or the feast of saints, the prokeimena of the occasional services, and those of the mysteries of marriage and baptism, hagiasmos, dedications,[378] and so forth. When the prokeimenon had to be inevitably taken from a certain psalm, just as the prokeimena of Vespers are and the Trithektē for the weekdays of Great Lent,[379] where the numerical sequence of the psalms is followed, then the verse chosen is the one most opportune in terms of meaning and most fitting in terms of chanting. After the selection, the chosen verse was detached from its context and placed at the beginning of the psalm. Now "it was placed before" (ἔκειτο πρό — προ–έκειτο) the psalm, and for this reason was named a "prokeimenon" (προκείμενον), (a preceding verse).[380]

And in both instances, after the choice and the prior placement of the prokeimenon that would be chanted first according to a certain tone, which is stated each time in the heading, the stichologia of the entire psalm followed, or only certain of its verses, starting from the first verse of the psalm. If the first verse had been chosen as the most appropriate one, the stichologia started from the one immediately following, namely, the second verse of the psalm. After the intoned recitation of each verse, usually by the reader, the prokeimenon was antiphonally chanted in response by the people. It was

378. Namely, dedications of temples.

379. Also known as the "τριτοέκτη," for studies of the Trithektē, see: M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales de la Tritoekti de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," OCP 43 (1977): 70–93, 335–354; *Ἰωάννης Φουντούλης, Ἀκολουθίαι τοῦ Νυχθημέρου*, Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς, Τεῦχος 1' (Θεσσαλονίκη: Μέλισσα, 1994), 11–44.

380. "προκείμενος στίχος."

not possible for the people to know all the psalms from memory, but they could easily learn and sing one verse, due to its frequent repetition and easy melody. From this preceding verse of the psalm (the original prokeimenon), the term later was broadened, and not only the chosen verse but the entire psalm was named a "prokeimenon." A classic example of a prokeimenon that is chanted in place of an allēlouarion, is "Arise, O God . . ."[381] of the Vespers for Great Saturday, which is the final verse (eighth) of Psalm 81. The prokeimenon is chanted before the psalm and is chanted in response after the intoned recitation of each one of the other verses of this psalm.

However, gradually with the development of hymnography and the addition of many troparia, canons, and so forth to the services, in order to save time, the prokeimena were restricted to the chanting of the chosen verse (the original prokeimenon) usually three times: once the propsalma, a second time after the first verse of the psalm, and a third time again the propsalma as a conclusion. However, remnants of the prokeimena with more verses remained, such as the prokeimenon for Saturday Vespers ("The Lord reigned . . ."),[382] and the great prokeimena for the penitential Vespers of Great Lent ("You have given an inheritance . . . ,"[383] "Cast me not away . . ."[384]) and for the Vespers of great feasts ("Who is so great a God . . . ,"[385] "Our God in heaven . . ."[386]). However, in most cases nowadays, the prokeimena are not chanted at all. Apart from the prokeimena of Vespers, Matins, and the funeral service, the others are recited intoned together with the first verse of the psalm, from which they have been taken, and where originally an indication was given for the reader that he would begin the stichologia from this verse.

The ancient way of chanting the prokeimenon is attested to by the old liturgical texts and by early Fathers and writers, such as, for example, by the *Apostolic Constitutions* (2.57.6), the *Life of Blessed*

381. "Ἀνάστα, ὁ Θεός..."
382. "Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν..."
383. "Ἔδωκας κληρονομίαν..."
384. "Μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς με..."
385. "Τίς Θεὸς μέγας..."
386. "Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ..."

Melanē, Saint Iōannēs Chrysostomos (on 1 Cor 36:5, 6, Psalm 144:1, Psalm 117:1), Saint Cassian,[387] and many others. In the previous answer, we also saw an analogous way of chanting in the ancient koinōnika. However, for avoidance of confusion, different terms were used depending on the liturgical position and the intent of various similar hymnological compositions, just as it is done nowadays with the troparia (stichēra–aposticha, apolytikia–kathismata, and so forth).

Therefore, the term "prokeimenon," which originally meant the chosen and preceding verse of a psalm (in our liturgical texts it is characteristic that the old terminology is prevalent, and the chanted verse alone is called a prokeimenon, while the following verses of the psalm are entitled "verse"[388] or "verses"[389]), later assumed a broader meaning and also denoted the psalm from which the prokeimenon was taken. Both the extension of the term to the psalm and the reduction of the number of psalmic verses to a single one inevitably created a problem of terminology. That which was initially self-evident—the chosen verse is placed before the psalm, thus, a prokeimenon—became a subject of debate. What is the prokeimenon? We have two answers in the patristic literature. The first connects it with the readings: "The prokeimena are placed before the prophetic and the apostolic scriptures and the gospel reading. They are for the most part verses of psalms, related to the meaning of the readings, and testify to them, as it were, beforehand, and at the same time when sung, they smooth the hearing in a certain way and prepare for the reading" (Markos Eugenikos, *Explanation of the Church's Daily Office*).[390] The other answer connects the prokeimenon with

387. Saint John Cassian (b. ca. 360–d. after 432) was a Latin ascetical author who described Egyptian daily offices at Scetis in his work, the *Institutes*. For a discussion of his work and the usage of Scetis, see Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 58–62. For a brief general biography, see Timothy E. Gregory and Alexander Kazhdan, "Cassian John," *ODB*, 1:387–388.

388. "στίχος."

389. "στίχοι."

390. Saint Markos Eugenikos, *Ἐξήγησις ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας (Explanation of the Church's Daily Office)*, PG 160:1189d.

the theme of the next day. "This [the prokeimenon] is the prophecy concerning the feast, a psalmic verse teaching about this day . . . . Prokeimena are said as introductions of the feasts and the coming days," (Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 337).[391] However, the prokeimena were not originally chanted only before the readings, but even after the readings and independently from the readings. We have such prokeimena even nowadays before the prophetic and epistle readings, after the readings of the Trithektē, and the independent prokeimena of Vespers. Nevertheless, we can say that the term was associated with the most prevalent use of the prokeimenon. Inspired by the independent prokeimena of Vespers and obviously understanding the weakness of the previous interpretation, Symeōn attempts to point out the relationship between the prokeimenon and the feast or the theme of the days of the week. This association is correct, but only in part.

Now, why is it called an "evening prokeimenon"? Obviously in order that the prokeimena of Vespers are distinguished from the prokeimena of Matins and the prokeimena of the readings. In the manuscripts, the old practice, and the current practice on the Holy Mountain, aside from the "The evening prokeimenon,"[392] we have the phrases "The prokeimenon of the prophecy"[393] or "The prokeimenon of the epistle,"[394] which precede the corresponding readings and are said by the reader before the recitation of the prokeimenon.

Finally, "Prokeimenon, tone one,"[395] and so forth, is the declaration of the tone in which the prokeimenon is or was chanted. Nowadays, the prokeimenon is often not chanted. Nevertheless, it remained in the liturgical books and is recited together with the title of the prokeimenon as a remnant of the ancient practice (see especially during Great Lent, "Prokeimenon, tone..., psalm..."[396]).

391. PG 155:609b, 612a.
392. "Ἑσπέρας προκείμενον."
393. "Προκείμενον τῆς Προφητείας."
394. "Προκείμενον τοῦ Ἀποστόλου."
395. "Προκείμενον, ἦχος α'."
396. "Προκείμενον, ἦχος ..., ψαλμός..."

341

Can the commemoration of a saint be celebrated festively[397] during Great Lent?

342

During the Liturgy of the Presanctified in Great Lent and on the feast day of a saint that has a gospel reading for Matins, an Artoklasia, and an epistle and gospel reading in the Divine Liturgy, when must the priest take kairos? During the kathismata or during the Beatitudes, and why?

343

In the above circumstance, when must the Artoklasia take place? After the great doxology or immediately after "Let my prayer be set forth"[398] of the Presanctified, and why?[399]

In general, the festive commemoration of a saint during Great Lent must be avoided, even though our contemporary practice is somewhat flexible on this matter. The old practice of the Church, which is crystalized in canon fifty-one of the Council in Laodicea (mid-fourth century), did not permit the festive commemoration of a saint during the period of Great Lent both because it is contrary to the mournful character of this period and because the celebration was connected with the performance of the Paschal mystery of the Holy Eucharist,[400] the performance of which, for the same reasons, could not be permitted during Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays, according to canon forty-nine of the same council. Canon fifty-one requires the transfer of the "birthdays"[401] of martyrs, and accordingly also commemorations of other saints who are not mar-

397. The word "πανηγυρικῶς" is translated here "festively" and implies a celebration with a complete Liturgy as well as an Artoklasia. This type of celebration is distinguished from a simple "commemoration" (μνήμη).

398. "Κατευθυνθήτω."

399. See also questions 131, 154, 173, 174, 369, 421, 560, and 595.

400. In other words, this refers to the celebration of a complete Divine Liturgy.

401. "γενέθλια." As Phountoulēs proceeds to discuss, birthdays of martyrs are the anniversaries of their martyrdom celebrated as their birth dates into eternal life.

tyrs that fall during the fasting days of Great Lent, to Saturdays and Sundays ("that it is not permitted to celebrate the birthdays of martyrs during Lent, but to perform the commemoration of holy martyrs on Saturdays and Sundays").[402] The fact that the canon does not mean the anniversary of birth with the term "birthdays," but rather the day of death, is apparent not only from the term "birthday,"[403] which always meant in ancient ecclesiastical terminology the day of martyrdom or perfection in Christ of the saint (for example, "to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom," *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* 18.3),[404] but also from the canon itself, which uses the word "commemorations"[405] as a synonym for "birthdays."[406] Balsamōn not only appears to distinguish "birthdays"[407] from "commemorations,"[408] but

402. Rhallēs and Potlēs, 3:218. Phountoulēs is recommending the transfer on the basis of his own canonical analysis. This point is made clear in his prior answer to question 131, where he states with regard to feasts of saints falling during Lent:

> Therefore, consistent with all these things, although the service book of the local saint has a full service, under no circumstances is the celebration of the Liturgy of Chrysostomos permitted on the day of his/her commemoration, if it does not fall on Saturday or Sunday. Consistent with the practice that we have referenced and the canon of the Council in Laodicea, the more correct thing would be that his/her commemoration be transferred preferably to the nearest Saturday, since the Sundays of Lent already have their own festal subjects that conform to the entire framework of the Fast, or better yet to one of the days of Renewal Week, as happens with the feast of Saint Geōrgios and of the evangelist Mark. In the latter case, the taxis of Lent and its entire penitential character would not be disturbed and the celebration of the feast of the saint would be found in the suitable festal atmosphere of Pascha. However, it is needless for me to write that the transfer of the saint's feast is outside of the priest's authority. It is a subject for the bishop and the Holy Synod.

403. "γενέθλιος ἡμέρα."

404. *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* 18.3 in *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp*, ed. Paul Hartog, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 264. The mistaken reference, 18.2, is corrected above.

405. "μνήμας."

406. "γενέθλια."

407. "γενέθλια."

408. "μνήμας."

he properly interprets the meaning of the canon: "As someone said, the commemorations (μνήμας) of holy martyrs by sacrifices[409] ought not to be prohibited throughout all of Lent since they are not joyful, but only their birthdays (τὰ γενέθλια τούτων) ought to be prohibited, as also being joyous occasions of celebrations. The Fathers decided to celebrate by sacrifices neither the commemorations nor birthdays of martyrs throughout all of Lent, but to make their feast days only on Saturdays and Sundays." Aristēnos also repeats the same thing with fewer words: "During Lent, apart from Saturday or Sunday, not even commemorations (μνεῖαι) of martyrs are celebrated."[410]

Characteristic for its accuracy is an interpretative footnote of Blessed Nikodēmos of the Holy Mountain in his *Rudder* on the term "birthday"[411] ("the death of martyrs is called a birthday because with this temporal death they were born into true life"),[412] as well as his interpretation on the canon above: "For since their birthdays and feasts are occasions for joy and breaking of the fast, it is unfit for them to take place on the mourning days of Great Lent, but it is

409. "διὰ θυσίας." In other words, "celebrations of the Eucharist."

410. For both texts, see Rhallēs and Potlēs, 3:219. Aristēnos appears to be using "are celebrated" (τελοῦνται) in the sense of performing a Divine Liturgy. Theodōros Balsamōn, Patriarch of Antioch (d. after 1195) and Alexios Aristēnos (mid-twelfth century) were two of the most important canonists during the Byzantine period. For an overview of Balsamōn's life and work, see Patrick Viscuso, *Guide for a Church under Islām: The Sixty-Six Canonical Questions Attributed to Theodōros Balsamōn* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2014). Regarding Aristēnos and Balsamōn, see also H.G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literature im Byzantinischen Reich* (München: C. H. Beck'sche, 1959), 657–658, and Spyros Troianos, "Byzantine Canon Law from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington, vol. 4 of History of Medieval Canon Law, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 178–183. For an edition of Aristēnos' commentary, see Eleftheria Sp. Papagianni, Spyros N. Troianos, Ludwig Burgmann and Kirill Maksimovič, eds., *Alexios Aristenos: Kommentar zur Synopsis canonum* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019).

411. "γενέθλια."

412. Ἁγάπιος ἱερομόναχος (Λεονάρδος) καὶ Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς μιᾶς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1982), 439, n. 1.

fitting for them to be celebrated on its relaxation and joyful days, which are Saturday and Sunday."[413]

On the basis of the ancient practice of the Church, and for the reasons above, the commemorations for saints of the mēnologion during the period in which Lent can move (February 2–April 24 according to the Julian Calendar, if we also include Great Week), are either transferred to Saturdays and Sundays (Theodōros of Tyre, Ioannēs Klimakos, Maria of Egypt, the Finding of the Precious Cross) or have fallen into disuse.[414] The commemoration of Saint Charalampos (February 10), the First and Second Finding of the Head of the Honorable Forerunner (February 24), and the Holy Forty Martyrs (March 9) remain as exceptions combined with the Liturgy of the Presanctified. The thing most correct and consistent with the Church's correct old practice, the referenced canon of the Council in Laodicea, and the spirit of the entire period of Lent, is for the commemorations of the saints to be transferred to the nearest preferable Saturday or even Sunday of Great Lent, especially indeed when a temple is celebrating its naming in their honor, in order for the Divine Liturgy to be celebrated during these days and in order for the penitential and Christocentric character of the Fast not to be disrupted (see also the answer to Question 131). Apart from the Divine Liturgy also every other festive element of the service that is proper to the commemoration of the saints, such as the festive Vespers, "God is the Lord,"[415] the anabathmoi, the katabasies, the great doxology, the Artoklasia, are all elements alien to the penitential character of Lent.

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413. Ἁγάπιος ἱερομόναχος (Λεονάρδος) καὶ Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς μιᾶς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1982), 439.

414. Phountoulēs does not mention the case of Saint Geōrgios (April 23). If the commemoration of the saint falls during Lent or Great Week, according to tradition the celebration of Saint Geōrgios moves to the Monday of Renewal Week. This tradition was established under the Julian Calendar when, in the event of the commemoration's falling during Great Week, the nearest Saturday and Sunday to April 23 would be Great Saturday or Pascha. Such a celebration on these days is inconceivable.

415. "Θεὸς Κύριος..."

Nevertheless, in any case, given that according to modern practice, it has become prevalent for the commemorations of the saints above not to be transferred, care should be paid that the taxis of the services of Great Lent be disrupted as little as possible. Namely, the priest would take "kairos" during the Ninth Hour, just as also during Presanctified (see the answers to the questions 81 and 259). We wrote in other answers regarding the place of the Artoklasia (10, 15, 271–273). Its regular place is at the end of Great Vespers of vigils. In parishes, it is celebrated at the end of Matins or even Divine Liturgy. By analogy, it can be celebrated in the instance that the question mentions, either after the doxology (with an epitrachēlion and phelōnion) or after the prayer behind the ambōn during the end of the Presanctified. But never after "Let my prayer be set forth...."[416]

344

During the Liturgy of the Presanctified, why is "Let my prayer be set forth . . ."[417] chanted twice, once during "I have cried to you . . ."[418] and once after the readings?

The answer to the question above is difficult because the information we have is not sufficient for us to indisputably solve the problem. The observation is accurate. "Let my prayer be set forth" is chanted twice in the Presanctified, but in different ways. The first way is undeniably monastic and the second "asmatic"/parish. There is no problem regarding the first chanting. The Liturgy of the Presanctified constitutes a combination of Vespers and the service for communion. The Vespers in the present form of the Presanctified is the monastic, according to the taxis of the Jerusalem Typikon of Saint Sabas that prevailed in the monasteries, which from the monasteries was also spread to the parishes and where it finally became prevalent as the only form of Vespers in the later Byzantine Church. Its

416. Phountoulēs appears to be accommodating practices that he already acknowledges are not consistent with the penitential character of Lent. This appears based on his statement at the beginning of the answer regarding a "contemporary practice" that "is somewhat flexible on this matter."

417. "Κατευθυνθήτω..."

418. "Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ..."

taxis is followed faithfully up until the readings, apart from the later "Blessed is the kingdom . . ."[419] and "The Light of Christ . . ., "[420] which is interpolated only in the Presanctified. In the monastic Vespers, we have the chanting of "Let my prayer be set forth . . ." as the second verse of Psalm 140, to which also belongs "O Lord, I have cried to you . . . ."[421] It is expected in conjunction with monastic Vespers for "Let my prayer be set forth" to be chanted. Therefore, the problem is located in the second chanting of "Let my prayer be set forth" after the readings, namely, at the beginning of the service for communion, the Liturgy of the Presanctified itself.

The structural form of "Let my prayer be set forth" resembles the structural form of the prokeimena that we saw in a previous answer, or, more precisely it is identical.[422] This second verse precedes the psalm ("it is set before")[423] and is chanted first, while afterwards it is chanted in response[424] according to the stichologia of the psalm (of its first four verses). The difficulty in being characterized as a "prokeimenon" is found in the facts that it is concluded with "Glory both now"[425] while the prokeimena were not concluded in this manner, that there is no reading afterwards for it "to be set before"[426] (according to the second explanation that we saw),[427] and that the priest also takes part in its chanting, something which was never done with the prokeimenon. However, these difficulties are sufficiently alleviated when we accept the concluding "Glory, both now" as an exception, since in fact not all the manuscripts attest to it. Likewise, the second difficulty is also removed in part because,

419. "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία..."
420. "Φῶς Χριστοῦ..."
421. "Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ..."
422. On the prokeimenon in this volume, see questions 307, 315, 340, 398, and 399.
423. "πρόκειται."
424. "ὑποψάλλεται." Another possible translation might be "it is chanted antiphonally."
425. "Δόξα καὶ νῦν."
426. "πρόκειται."
427. See question 340 where there is a discussion of the evening prokeimenon and the second explanation that is provided by Symeōn of Thessaloniki.

when a saint is celebrated, the readings (epistle/gospel) from the New Testament (or only the gospel reading during Great Week) are read immediately after "Let my prayer be set forth."[428] Namely, in this case, it occupies the place of a prokeimenon for the epistle or gospel reading. In addition, when a saint was celebrated and the epistle was read, the prokeimenon for the epistle was omitted, precisely because the prokeimenon/"Let my prayer be set forth" was chanted. In some manuscripts, in the above cases, the term "prokeimenon" is used to refer to its designation (*Codices Timiou Staurou 40, Patmos 466, Kōnstamonitou 19 (20)*). Certainly, according to the manuscripts, "Let my prayer be set forth" is preceded by "Wisdom"[429] or "Wisdom; let us attend"[430] or "Wisdom. Peace be to all,"[431] just as nearly also at the prokeimenon. Finally, the participation also of the priest in the chanting of "Let my prayer be set forth" is later. It is encountered in manuscripts later than the sixteenth century. Formerly, "Let my prayer be set forth" was chanted only by the people, just as also the prokeimenon. All of this favors the hypothesis that "Let my prayer be set forth" is also itself a prokeimenon as to its structural form, chanting, and position before the readings. It is albeit a somewhat singular prokeimenon independent of the readings (just as quite a few of the ancient prokeimena) either preceding the epistle or gospel reading, which are even exceptionally interpolated sometimes in the Presanctified, or connected to the end of the reading of Proverbs, as a prokeimenon/conclusion, just as we have at the reading of the Trithektē.

However, this answer does not resolve the matter because it does not respond to the question why "Let my prayer be set forth" is chanted two times, the first time at "O Lord, I have cried to you" and the second time as a prokeimenon.

Another element that can assist in our research is the manner of chanting, "Let my prayer be set forth." The manner of its chanting,

428. Regarding the practice of commemorating saints during Lent, see the previous answers 341–343.

429. "Σοφία."

430. "Σοφία· πρόσχωμεν."

431. "Σοφία. Εἰρήνη πᾶσι."

whether we characterize it as a prokeimenon or not, is clearly "asmatic" and not monastic. Could it have its derivation from the "asmatic" Vespers, namely, from the Vespers of the Byzantine parish temples, as a remnant of the ancient practice that was also preserved in the monastic Vespers of the Presanctified even after the complete prevalence of the Typikon of Saint Sabas? In the "asmatic" Vespers, there indeed exists a chanting of Psalm 140, and certainly of it alone. Namely, while there are four "psalms of Lamp-lighting" (140, 141, 129, and 116) in the monastic/Jerusalem Vespers, there is only one, Psalm 140, in the "asmatic"/Antiochian Vespers. All the old "asmatic" Typika attest to this, such as that of Saint Sophia of Constantinople and that of Saint Sophia of Thessaloniki, as well as the "asmatic" liturgical manuscripts. The *Apostolic Constitutions* designates Psalm 140 as the "Lamp-lighting psalm" and prescribes its daily chanting during the evening assemblies of the faithful (8.35.2 and 2.59.2).[432] Saint Iōannēs Chrysostomos also says the same thing when it is mentioned in his commentary on Psalm 140: "Everyone knows, so to speak, the words of this psalm and continues chanting them at every age...chanting them daily and uttering the words by mouth."[433] In the Presanctified Liturgy, during "Let my prayer be set forth," we only have a chanting of Psalm 140 (even of a few of its verses) and not of all the Lamp-lighting psalms of the monastic Typikon. It could also be claimed here that we have a borrowing (as also so many others) from the "asmatic" Typikon, if two details did not also complicate matters here: First, that in the "asmatic" Vespers Psalm 140 was not chanted with the ephymnion, "Let my prayer be set forth," but with, "We offer to you an evening sacrifice . . . ."[434] Second, and most important, Psalm 140 was not chanted after the readings, but before the entrance, as an eighth antiphon of the

432. *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.35.2 (SC 336:246–247). *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.59.2 in *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, ed. and trans. Marcel Metzger, SC 320 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1985), 325.

433. PG 55:426–427. Translation modified from Robert C. Hill, *St. John Chrysostom; Commentary on the Psalms* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2007), 2:264.

434. "Ἑσπερινὴν θυσίαν προσφέρωμεν σοί [ὁ Θεὸς ἡν πρόσδεξαι διὰ τοῦ ἀθλοφόρου καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς]."

Lamp-lighting. In the parishes, at that time when the "asmatic" Typikon was observed, the Presanctified was not associated with the monastic, but with the "asmatic" Vespers. And according to this taxis, "Let my prayer be set forth" was again also chanted twice, once with the eighth antiphon of Vespers and once after the readings. Even after this research, the problem remains unsolved. We also have here a double chanting.

More illuminating is the coupling of "Let my prayer be set forth" with "The Light of Christ illumines all."[435] Both are particular to the Presanctified and go together. Their association appears better in the older practice, according to which "The Light of Christ . . ." was said immediately after Proverbs and before "Let my prayer be set forth." Likewise, together they began during the first Presanctified of Lent and together they "concluded"[436] during Great Wednesday. When during the Presanctified Liturgy "The Light of Christ" was not said (Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare week and Great Friday), "Let my prayer be set forth" was also not chanted. Just as we saw in the answer to question 230, "The Light of Christ" is a blessing of the evening light and "Let my prayer be set forth" is an evening offering of incense, namely, two elements that constitute the very center of the service of Vespers. Both these elements are found twice in the Presanctified: The blessing and the greeting of the evening light at "O Gladsome Light . . ." and at "The Light of Christ," and the offering of incense at the psalms of Lamp-lighting (Psalm 140, and so forth) and at "Let my prayer be set forth." It is very probable that "The Light of Christ" and "Let my prayer be set forth" are derived from a most ancient liturgical tradition and existed together in a form of an old Lamp-lighting that has not survived except only partially in the Presanctified. V. Janeras at least arrived at this conclusion in a special study entitled "La Partie Vésperal de la Liturgie Byzantine des Présanctifiés," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30 (1964): 193–222.[437]

435. "Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι."

436. "ἀπεδίδοντο" is translated here as "concluded" to imply a liturgical "leavetaking" (ἀπόδοσις) for their chanting.

437. V. Janeras, "La Partie Vésperal de la Liturgie Byzantine des Présanctifiés," *OCP* 30 (1964): 222, "Il ne s'agit pas, sans doute, d'un lucernaire particulier à ce temps-là, mais d'un très ancien lucernaire, disparu devant l'autre

345

What does the phrase mean from the prayer of inclination of the Divine Liturgy of the sacred Chrysostomos: "Σὺ οὖν, δέσποτα, τὰ προκείμενα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐξομάλισον κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἰδίαν χρείαν"?

This phrase from the prayer of inclination from the Liturgy of the sacred Chrysostomos is not understood in the same way by all and is also translated differently for this reason by various translators of the Divine Liturgy, by our own[438] and foreign. Two views are prevalent regarding its meaning:

1) The word "προκείμενα" refers to the implied noun, "gifts,"[439] the consecrated undefiled Mysteries. The word is encountered with this meaning in many prayers and in the diaconal petitions of the Greek Liturgies (prayers of the proskomidē and anaphora of Chrysostomos; of the anaphora—twice–of Basileios the Great; of the proskomidē of the Presanctified Liturgy; of the proskomidē and anaphora of Iakōvos; of the anaphora of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; diaconal petitions after the great entrance of Iakōvos and so forth). In all these instances, the gifts are called "προκείμενα," whether before or after the consecration because they are set forth (πρόκεινται/κεῖνται πρό); they are found before us. The liturgical context of the prayer to which it belongs, in a way, imposes on us the understanding of the phrase in this sense. In all the Liturgies, the prayer of inclination before holy communion is a prayer of blessing for the people in anticipation of their approach to holy communion, and for this reason there is an entreaty in all of them that the faithful be deemed worthy to partake of the Mysteries. Certainly, the same word ("προκείμενα") with the meaning of the species of the Holy Eucharist also exists in the corresponding prayer of inclination in the Liturgies of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and of the evangelist Markos. The Liturgy of Chrysostomos must not constitute an exception to the unanimous liturgical tradition.

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office vesperal que nous connaissons au rite byzantine, et conserve seulement pendant la Carême."

438. Those of the Church of Greece.

439. "δῶρα."

Nevertheless, the word "ἐξομάλισον"—make smooth, make even—provides a difficulty regarding the understanding of this prayer of the Liturgy of Chrysostomos in an eucharistic sense. The meaning of this verb has to be quite forced to render the meaning of "adapts,"[440] "turns out/results in,"[441] or "distributes."[442] In this sense, the contested phrase in the prayer is understood and translated by many: "[the priest] entreating for them [the faithful] to partake of the undefiled mysteries without condemnation and that they become for each one a help according to their need" (Daniēl Geōrgopoulos, *Sacred Anthology*, in Athens 1898[5], p. 34).[443] "The celebrant supplicates in the name of all that the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist set forth on the altar turns out beneficial and salvific to all according to the particular need that each one has" (P. Trempelas, *From Our Orthodox Worship*, Athens 1970, p. 368).[444] "You therefore, O Master, grant that the sacrifice set forth of the Holy Eucharist may result in a good end for us all, according to the particular need, which each one has" (Seraphim Papakōstas, *Handbook of the Divine Liturgy*, Athens 1969[8], p. 137).[445] "You therefore, O Master, make equal to [and apply] to us all the [consecrated gifts] set forth before [us on your holy altar], so that [they may result] in good, consistent with the need [particularly] of each of us" (P. Trempelas, *Leitourgikon*, Athens, 1973[7], p. 123).[446]

2) The eucharistic meaning of the prayer is abandoned by others and the sense of the phrase is conformed to the precise meaning of

440. "προσαρμόζω" (I adapt). The translation in the text was done in the third person to avoid confusion.

441. "ἀποβαίνω" (I turn out/result in).

442. "διαμοιράζω" (I distribute).

443. Δανιὴλ Γεωργόπουλος, *Ἱερὰ Ἀνθολογία: περιέχουσα ἑρμηνείαν ἐπὶ τῆς τελετῆς τῶν ἑπτὰ μυστηρίων τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἔτι δὲ διάφορα ἄλλα χρήσιμα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς ὁδηγίαν τοῦ εὐαγοῦς Ἱερατείου* (Venice: Ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τυπογραφίας Φραγκίσκου Ἀνδρεόλα, 1833; 5th ed.; Ἀθῆναι: Ν. Μιχαλόπουλος, 1898), 34.

444. Παναγιώτης Τρεμπέλας, *Ἀπὸ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον λατρείαν μας* (Ἀθῆναι: Ἐκδ. "Ὁ Σωτῆρ," 1970), 368.

445. Σεραφεὶμ Παπακώστα, *Ἐγκόλπιον τῆς θείας λειτουργίας*, 8th ed. (Ἀθῆναι: Ἔκδοσις Ἀδελφότης Θεολόγων ἡ "Ζωή," 1969), 137.

446. Παναγιώτης Τρεμπέλας, *Λειτουργικόν*, 7th ed. (Ἀθῆναι: Ἀδελφότης Θεολόγων "Ὁ Σωτήρ," 1973), 123.

the verb "ἐξομαλίζω" (make smooth, make even). Thus, the phrase "εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐξομάλισον" finds its correspondence at the end of the prayer, in the difficult and uneven circumstances that people encounter in the course of their lives, in travels by land or sea, and in sickness. With the salvific intervention of God, these will be smoothed away since they will have Him sailing in company with them, as a fellow traveler and physician. According to this interpretation, "προκείμενα" does not mean the precious gifts, but these difficulties described above. In this sense, "προκείμενα" is encountered in the diaconal petitions for the catechumens in the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*: "in order that the good [God] and who loves humankind... might direct the present circumstances (τὰ προκείμενα) for their benefit,"[447] which is repeated almost verbatim by Saint Iōannēs Chrysostomos in his homily on 2 Cor 2:8 ("that He might direct all the present circumstances [τὰ προκείμενα] for their benefit").[448] Other correspondences exist between this entreaty and our prayer: "κατευθύνῃ—ἐξομάλισον," "εἰς ἀγαθὸν πρὸς—[ἢ εἰς] τὸ συμφέρον" ("may direct—make smooth," "for good—towards [or for] the benefit").

However, how can the eucharistic character of the prayer of inclination be ignored? In general, it is preferable for this lack of reference to the eucharistic theme to be considered an exception, albeit unique, in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos, rather than for the meaning of the prayer to be forced on the basis of a previously formed opinion that one way or another it must be referring to this theme. If this difficulty can be overcome, then the meaning of the prayer will be much more natural and consistent with its wording. There are two supporting indications from other texts of Liturgies that we can cite: First, when "gifts" (δῶρα) are meant by the word, "προκείμενα," this word is never left to be implied but always clearly specified: "the gifts set forth, the holy gifts set forth, the awesome mysteries set forth, or the good things set forth" (προκείμενα δῶρα, προκείμενα ἅγια δῶρα, προκείμενα φρικτὰ μυστήρια, προκείμενα ἀγαθά). Second, the prayers of inclination before holy communion do not always have holy

447. *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.6.5–6 (SC 336:152–155).
448. PG 61:403.

communion as an "exclusive theme," but are also referring to help for the people during their difficult circumstances ("guard, fortify, strengthen, distance them from every evil deed, unite them to every good work,"[449] Liturgy of Basileios the Great; "be for us a support and helper and protector,"[450] Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*).

Nikolaos Kabasilas also renders the prayer in the above sense: "[The priest] prays for what is beneficial to all" (*Explanation of the Divine Liturgy* 35.3),[451] as well as Fr. Gervasios Paraskevopoulos: "Therefore, all the present circumstances,[452] the obstacles presented and difficulty of our life, make smooth, untangle, and direct us to every good and honorable thing (Make these things turn out for our own good![453])" (*An Interpretive Overview on the Divine Liturgy*, Patras 1958, p. 237).[454] After a detailed study of the prayer, Professor J. Mateos also prefers this meaning, "Deux problems de traduction dans la Liturgie Byzantine de S. Jean Chrysostome," Rome 1971, pp. 180–181.[455]

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449. "φρούρησον, ὀχύρωσον, ἐνδυνάμωσον, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ ἀπόστησον, παντὶ δὲ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ σύναψον."

450. "βοηθὸς ἡμῖν γενοῦ καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ καὶ ὑπερασπιστής," *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.13.10 (SC 336:208–209).

451. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, 35.3 (SC 4bis:220).

452. "πάντα λοιπὸν τὰ προκείμενα."

453. "βγάλτα σε καλό." This is a translation of the idiomatic use of the verb, "βγαίνω," which is in the imperative and addressed to God.

454. Γερβάσιος Χαρ. Παρασκευόπουλος, *Ἑρμηνευτικὴ ἐπιστασία ἐπὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας* (Πάτραι: n.p., 1958), 237.

455. Juan Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine: Étude historique*, OCA 191 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1971), 180–181 and the recent translation and updating of the latter work, Juan Mateos and Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *A History of the Liturgy St. John Chrysostom: Volume I The Liturgy of the Word* (Fairfax, VA: Eastern Christian Publications, 2016), 267–273. The official translation of the Divine Liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America has the following translation for the phrase being discussed: "Therefore, O Master, make smooth and beneficial for us all, whatever lies ahead, according to the need of each: Sail with those who sail; travel with those who travel; heal the sick Physician of our souls and bodies," Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, *The Divine Liturgy of our Father among the saints John Chrysostom, Clergy Edition* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, 2018), 39–40.

346

What do the words mean in the Divine Liturgy, "Singing the triumphal hymn, proclaiming, crying aloud, and saying" (Τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα), and to what symbolism do they refer?

The hymn "Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory,"[456] that is introduced in the Divine Liturgy with the above four participles,[457] constitutes, as it is well known, an adaptation of the so-called "biblical trisagion" that is found for the first time in the prophet Isaiah. During the vision of his calling to the prophetic ministry, the prophet sees "the Lord sitting upon a throne, lofty and raised up; and the house was full of his glory. And Seraphim stood around him; each had six wings, and with two they covered the face, and with two they covered the feet, and with two they flew. And cried aloud (ἐκέκραγεν) one to another and said (ἔλεγον): 'Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of his glory'" (Isa 6:1–3). With almost the same words this hymn is introduced in the Divine Liturgy, particularly indeed in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great. It is noteworthy regarding the subject that interests us that according to Isaiah, the hymn is chanted only by the Seraphim and that two of the four verbs in the liturgical phrase are encountered in the text: "they cried aloud" ("crying aloud") and "they said" ("saying") — "ἐκέκραγεν" ("κεκραγότα"), "ἔλεγον" ("λέγοντα").

In the first chapter of the prophetic book of Ezekiel the description of his calling is again encountered in a vision similar to the one we saw in the book of Isaiah. The throne of God is surrounded here by four living beings ("as a likeness of four living beings," 1:5). Each living being has four faces ("and one had four faces," 1:6). "As for the resemblance of their faces, there was a face of a human, and the four had a face of a lion on the right, the four had the face of a calf on the left, and the four had the face of an eagle," 1:10). However, the

456. "Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου."

457. The four participles are: "ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα" (singing, proclaiming, crying aloud, and saying).

living beings do not chant; the voice that the prophet hears, "like the sound of abundant water," is the sound of their wings when they fly (1:24).

In the Revelation of John, a connection of the two visions takes place:

> And in the midst of the throne and around the throne, on each side of the throne, are four living beings, full of eyes in front and behind; the first living being like a lion, the second living being like a calf, the third living being with the face of a man, and the fourth living being like a flying eagle. And the four living beings, each of them with six wings, are full of eyes all around and within, and day and night they never cease saying (λέγοντες), 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Pantokratōr, the one who was and the one who is and the one who is to come.[458]

The living beings have the specific forms of a lion, a calf, a man, and an eagle; are six-winged and many-eyed; and ceaselessly chant the trisagion hymn. "Saying" ("λέγοντες") is only encountered here, and the living beings are not identified with the Seraphim. The liturgical trisagion is also much closer to the hymn of Isaiah than to the hymn of Revelation. In general, also, the dependence of the liturgical phrase on Isaiah is very obvious. From Ezekiel the living beings become four and from Revelation the trisagion hymn "Holy, holy, holy..." is placed in their mouths. It is clear that the transition from the biblical to the liturgical tradition took place through Revelation.

In the prayers of the anaphora of the Liturgies of the Christian ecumene, a relative variety exists as to the understanding of who the angels are that chant the trisagion hymn in heaven. In some Liturgies, the hymn is placed only in the mouth of the Seraphim (Alexandrian anaphoras of Serapion, Grēgorios the Theologian, and Basileios the Great. Syrian anaphoras of Xystos, Clement, and Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Mystagogical Catechesis* 6. Partially also the Byzantine Liturgy of Basileios the Great). The influence of Isaiah is more obvious in these. In most Liturgies, the Cherubim are also

458. Rev 4:6–8.

added to the Seraphim (Alexandrian anaphora of Markos. Coptic anaphora of Kyrillos, the Ethiopian anaphora of the Holy Apostles, Kyrillos, and Maria. Jerusalem anaphora of Saint Iakōvos. Syrian anaphoras of the Twelve Apostles, Iakōvos, Timotheos, Sevēros, Kyrillos, Ignatios, Iōannēs, Ioulios, and Addai and Mari. Armenian anaphora of Grēgorios of Nazianzos. Compare also Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catechesis 5*, 6). Finally, in others, the hymn is generalized to all the angels (anaphoras of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Chaldean of Nestorios, Byzantine of Iōannēs Chrysostomos).

As for the verbs or the participles that introduce the trisagion hymn, a difference is observed among the Liturgies. In some, only one verb is used: saying ("λέγοντα") or sanctifying ("ἁγιάζοντα") or proclaiming ("βοώσαις") (Anaphora of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Serapion, Ethiopian of Maria; compare also Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catechesis 5*, 6). In others, two verbs are used; "singing (ᾄδοντες) and crying aloud (κράζοντες)" or "they cry aloud (κράζουν) and say (λέγουν)" or "they proclaim (κηρύσσουν) and praise (ἀνυμνοῦν)" (an excerpt from the Coptic anaphora, the Ethiopian anaphoras of the Holy Apostles and Kyrillos). In others, three verbs are used: "praising, proclaiming, and saying" (ὑμνοῦντα, βοῶντα, καὶ λέγοντα) or "proclaiming, crying aloud, and saying" (βοῶντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα) or "they sing, glorify, and say" (ᾄδουν, δοξολογοῦν, καὶ λέγουν) or "they sing, cry aloud, and say" (ᾄδουν, κράζουν, καὶ λέγουν) or "they proclaim, cry aloud, and say" (βοοῦν, κράζουν, καὶ λέγουν) or "they cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν) (Alexandrian anaphora of Basileios the Great. Syriac anaphoras of Ioulios, Sevēros, Iōannēs, Timotheos. Armenian anaphoras of Isaak, Grēgorios of Nazianzos, Iakōvos the Brother of God). In some others, four verbs are used: "proclaiming, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying" (βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κράζοντα, καὶ λέγοντα) or "singing, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying" (ᾄδοντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κράζοντα, καὶ λέγοντα) or "they sanctify, cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (ἁγιάζουν, κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν) or "glorifying, proclaiming, crying aloud, and saying" (δοξολογοῦντες, βοῶντες, κράζοντες, καὶ λέγοντες) or "they glorify, cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (δοξολογοῦν, κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν) or "they

praise, cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (αἰνοῦν, κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν) or "they sing, acclaim, cry aloud, and say" (ᾄδουν, εὐφημοῦν, κράζουν, καὶ λέγουν) (Chaldean anaphoras of Nestorios, Theodōros of Mopsuestia, and Addai and Mari. Syriac anaphoras of Ignatios, Iakōvos the Brother of God, Twelve Apostles, Xystos, and Clement). Finally, the Alexandrian Liturgy of Saint Grēgorios the Theologian has six participles: "praising, singing, proclaiming, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying" (ὑμνολογοῦντα, ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα).

Verb Number	Verbs/Participles introducing the trisagion hymn	Sources
One Verb	• saying ("λέγοντα") • sanctifying ("ἁγιάζοντα") • proclaiming ("βοώσαις")	• Anaphora of the *Apostolic Constitutions.* • Serapion. • Ethiopian of Maria. • Compare also Kyrillos of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Catechesis 5, 6.
Two Verbs	• "singing and crying aloud (ᾄδοντες καὶ κράζοντες)" • "they cry aloud and say (κράζουν καὶ λέγουν)" • "they proclaim and praise" (κηρύσσουν καὶ ἀνυμνοῦν)"	• The Coptic anaphora. • The Ethiopian anaphoras of the Holy Apostles and Kyrillos.

Verb Number	Verbs/Participles introducing the trisagion hymn	Sources
Three Verbs	• "praising, proclaiming, and saying" (ὑμνοῦντα, βοῶντα, καὶ λέγοντα) • "proclaiming, crying aloud, and saying" (βοῶντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα) • "they sing, glorify, and say" (ᾄδουν, δοξολογοῦν, καὶ λέγουν) • "they sing, cry aloud, and say" (ᾄδουν, κράζουν, καὶ λέγουν) • "they proclaim, cry aloud, and say" (βοοῦν, κράζουν, καὶ λέγουν) • "they cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν)	• Alexandrian anaphora of Basileios the Great. • Syriac anaphoras of Ioulios, Sevēros, Iōannēs, Timotheos. • Armenian anaphoras of Isaak, Grēgorios of Nazianzos, Iakōvos the Brother of God.
Four Verbs	• "proclaiming, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying" (βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κράζοντα, καὶ λέγοντα) • "singing, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying" (ᾄδοντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κράζοντα, καὶ λέγοντα) • "they sanctify, cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (ἁγιάζουν, κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν) • "glorifying, proclaiming, crying aloud, and saying" (δοξολογοῦντες, βοῶντες, κράζοντες, καὶ λέγοντες) • "they glorify, cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (δοξολογοῦν, κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν)	• Chaldean anaphoras of Nestorios, Theodōros of Mopsuestia, and Addai and Mari. • Syriac anaphoras of Ignatios, Iakōvos the Brother of God, Twelve Apostles, Xystos, and Clement.

Verb Number	Verbs/Participles introducing the trisagion hymn	Sources
Four Verbs	• "they praise, cry aloud, proclaim, and say" (αἰνοῦν, κράζουν, βοοῦν, καὶ λέγουν)	
	• "they sing, acclaim, cry aloud, and say" (ᾄδουν, εὐφημοῦν, κράζουν, καὶ λέγουν)	
Six Verbs	• "praising, singing, proclaiming, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying" (ὑμνολογοῦντα, ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα)	• The Alexandrian Liturgy of Saint Grēgorios the Theologian.

We left out from the above examination the Jerusalemite Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos the Brother of God, which has five participles: "singing, proclaiming, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying" (ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα) (and under its influence, the Alexandrian Liturgy of Saint Markos has precisely the same phrase) as well as the two familiar Liturgies of Basileios the Great and the sacred Chrysostomos of the Byzantine liturgical form, which have four participles: "singing, proclaiming, crying aloud, and saying" (ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα). There is definitely a close relationship on this point between the Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos and the Byzantine Liturgies, which becomes obvious both from the similarity of the words (the Liturgy of Iakōvos has in addition "glorifying," δοξολογοῦντα) and from the fact that they are found in the same sequence, which is indeed alphabetical, Ἄ(δοντα)–Β(οῶντα)–Δ(οξολογοῦντα)–Κ(εκραγότα)–Λ(έγοντα) (singing, proclaiming, glorifying, crying aloud, saying).

In the liturgical commentary that is attributed to Saint Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (715–729), which bears the title, *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation*, a connection of these four participles with the four living beings of Revelation is encountered for the first time (at least as far as I am able to know):

> Singing (Ἄδοντα) is the eagle.
> Proclaiming (Βοῶντα) is the ox.
> Crying aloud (Κεκραγότα) is the lion.
> Saying (Λέγοντα) is the man.[459]

There indeed exists an actual or phonetic relationship between these verbs and the names of the living beings: ᾄδω–αετος (I sing–eagle), (compare, "songbirds," ᾠδικὰ πτηνά), βοῶ–βοῦς (I proclaim–ox), λέγω–ἄνθρωπος (I speak–human being). However, "κράζω" (I cry aloud) does not go together with roaring nor with the etymology of the word "λέων" (lion). Moreover, these verbs are also not even used in liturgical language in order for the voices of the respective living beings to be signified alone. In any case, the symbolism is exaggerated and for this reason is not adopted by the other Byzantine commentators of the Divine Liturgy (Kabasilas, Symeōn).

When the authors of the Liturgies wrote their texts, did they perhaps have such a symbolism in mind? The question does not even arise for the Liturgies that have one, two, three, five, or six verbs. However, what about those that have four verbs? In the non-Byzantine Liturgies, we saw above, there does not appear to exist even a suggestion of such a correspondence. These also use other verbs apart from the ones above that are unable to be compared with any voice from the four living beings: "I glorify," "I sanctify," "I praise," and "I acclaim" (δοξολογῶ, ἁγιάζων, αἰνῶ, εὐφημῶ). However, does the same apply regarding the Byzantine Liturgies? When the sacred authors removed "glorifying" (δοξολογοῦντα) from the parallel phrase of Saint Iakōvos—this Byzantine exclamation was likely formulated in this manner—did they want to conform the phrase to already existing understandings or did they do it by chance? Did they leave four participles in order for a vague correspondence of the four verbs

459. PG 98:429d.

to exist with the four living beings, or even a specific connection and correlation of a certain participle to a certain living being, as we saw in Saint Germanos? Perhaps again when leaving four verbs, did they wish to indicate the worldwide nature and universality of the heavenly and earthly doxology, that in a way derives from the four points of the visible and invisible world? Symbolisms are usually subsequent to the texts. The commentary of Saint Germanos is many centuries later than the texts of the Liturgies.

From all that we saw detailed above regarding the origin of the victory hymn, the various ways of its incorporation into the Liturgies and its place in the Byzantine liturgical tradition, I think that the potential influence of the symbolisms must be excluded in the formation of the phrase that interests us. The use of the verbs is probably by chance, and their number should not, at least in general, have a relationship to the four living beings of Revelation. The symbolic interpretation came later to embellish and to theologize upon the preexisting liturgical tradition, without also again succeeding in imposing the proposed interpretation and making it commonly accepted. It had the element of hyperbole that is also seen in the so technical and superficial correlation of a verb and a living being.[460]

460. Phountoulēs does not discuss the development of the tetramorph depiction of the four evangelists in the patristic tradition. According to this tradition, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are associated variously with the faces of the four living beings: man, lion, ox, and eagle. Saint Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 115– c. 202) is generally accepted as being the first to record such an association.

347

During Saturday of Meatfare, or generally when many who have "fallen asleep" are commemorated during memorial services, what is correct to be said:

a.) At the prayer, "The God of spirits . . ."[461]: "for there is no human who will live and not sin"[462] or "for there are no humans who will live and not sin"[463]?

b.) At the commemorations, "the souls of your servants who have fallen asleep"[464] or "the soul of your servants who have 'fallen asleep'"[465]?

The conversion from a plural number to the singular for the prayers that exist in our Euchologia is not always as easy a thing as it appears at first glance. For this reason, one could welcome with satisfaction these questions that show that our priests approach their liturgical work responsibly, are also concerned even over this detailed subject, and study the texts in advance, without waiting for the last moment to improvise, sometimes unsuccessfully, and thus be exposed, in the eyes of the educated, as being illiterate or superficial.

However, specifically, the phrase "for there is no human who will live and not sin" is not converted to the plural even if the prayer is said for many people, because it does not refer to those who have "fallen asleep," but to every human person in general who lived and sinned in contrast to the Lord who "alone exists without sin."

The other phrase, "the souls of your servants who have 'fallen asleep,'" which is encountered in different versions in the funeral troparia, diaconal petitions, prayer, and dismissal in a singular number ("the soul of your servant," "his soul," "the soul of your servant of God who has 'fallen asleep,'" "the soul of your servant who has 'fallen asleep'" "the soul of his servant departed from us") is correctly converted to a plural number ("the souls" or "of the souls"), because it refers to the souls of our many ancestors, brothers, and

461. "Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων..."
462. "ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσει."
463. "οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι, οἳ ζήσονται καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσουσι."
464. "τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν κεκοιμημένων δούλων σου."
465. "τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν κεκοιμημένων δούλων σου."

sisters who have "fallen asleep" and asks the mercy of God for their blessed repose.

348

During the mysteries of marriage and of baptism, before "Blessed is the kingdom . . ."[466] must the apolytikia of Saints Kōnstantinos and Helenē and of the Meeting of Christ, respectively, be chanted or not?

349

During the mystery of baptism, when the priest washes his hands after the chrismation, must the katabasies of the Cross, "Inscribing the cross . . . ,"[467] and those during the Paschal period, "It is the day of the resurrection . . . ,"[468] be said by the chanter or not? If not, is the chanter's participation being severely limited?

350

During baptism, what are the things chanted by the chanter? The psalm "Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven . . ."[469] or the katabasies or other troparia? With what sequence and for what purpose?

We will examine these three questions together because they refer to related subjects.

We wrote in earlier answers (see questions 98 and 99) regarding the chanting of the kontakion of Saint Kōnstantinos ("Today Kōnstantinos...")[470] before the service of betrothal and his apolytikion ("The form of your cross...")[471] before marriage. There, studying the question in detail, we saw that the relationship of these two troparia to the services of betrothal and marriage is completely superficial and that their introduction into these services was much later and limited. They were perhaps associated with these services for historical

466. "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία..."
467. "Σταυρὸν χαράξας..."
468. "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα..."
469. "Μακάριοι, ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι..."
470. "Κωνσταντῖνος σήμερον..."
471. "Τοῦ Σταυροῦ σου τὸν τύπον..."

reasons, since the service of marriage probably has a royal origin, or for the overall royal color that the theoretical basis for the crowning of the spouses constitutes. And in both cases, lay piety connected marriage with the first Christian rulers "crowned by God,"[472] who are repeatedly mentioned in the service.

The origins of the introduction of the apolytikion of Theophany, its kontakion, or the apolytikion of the Baptist into the service of holy baptism is analogous. We again spoke in detail regarding this in the answer to question 278. Here also, both nowadays and formerly, the practice is limited to certain regions and is done on the basis of local customs. Naturally, as we saw then, it is much later, since it is encountered in only a few manuscripts, and these are from the period of the Tourkokratia.[473] However, here, the linkage is undoubtedly more theological, at least regarding the apolytikion and kontakion of Theophany, since this connects the baptism of the faithful with the Baptism of the Lord. Nevertheless, the chanting of the apolytikion of the Meeting of Christ, which the question mentions, is pointless and theoretically unjustified. The Meeting of Christ is connected with the churching of the baby on the fortieth day after its birth and not with baptism. There, during the "forty-day blessing," indeed we find in later manuscripts the chanting or recitation of the hymn "Hail, full of grace, O Virgin Theotokos..."[474] or "Your birth sanctified a Virgin's womb..."[475] or even both of them. The introduction of the first into the service of baptism perhaps originated from the practice that is attested to by certain later manuscripts and is also observed locally; after the catechesis and before the enarxis of the service of baptism, or immediately after this, a churching of the baby is done, namely, its introduction by the priest into the temple or even into the altar for veneration while elements of the service for the forty-day blessing are said ("The servant of God is churched...,"[476] "In

472. "θεοστέπτους."

473. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

474. "Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη..."

475. "Ὁ μήτραν παρθενικήν..."

476. "Ἐκκλησιάζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ..."

the midst of an assembly..."[477] "Now let your servant depart..."[478]) and also especially the apolytikion of the Meeting of Christ (see *Codices Athens 1910* and *665* from the sixteenth century). Symeōn of Thessaloniki also attests that the entrance of the catechumens into the temple for the veneration of the altar was done immediately after the catechesis and before the enarxis of the service of baptism. During the entrance into the temple, "Hail, full of grace, O Virgin Theotokos...," was chanted: "And so laying hold of him...by the hand, like finding the one who was lost, he leads him into the temple...that he offers him to the Master who had lost him. Representing the joy, in which he rejoices with the angels over the sinner who repents, while singing he says 'Hail, full of grace' and enters... And the hierarch, when representing the works of Symeōn, leads the one being baptized before the altar like Symeōn offered. And he makes him prostrate three times to God" (*Dialogue*, chapter 62).[479] Therefore, the chanting of the apolytikion of the Meeting of Christ was associated with the prostration of the candidate for baptism in the temple and not with the enarxis of the baptism. However, this prostration was not preserved in contemporary practice, except only in some places, and is not provided for by the Euchologia.

We wrote in the answer to question 96 why these troparia were introduced into the services of marriage and baptism, and others in other services (the eighth day blessing, the forty-day blessing, ordinations, and so forth). There is no specific hymnography for these services. During more recent times, the tendency became prevalent for these services to be adorned with some hymns, even in a rudimentary fashion, to become more festive and impressive. Especially in marriage and baptism, the troparia were intended to cover the time required for the preliminary censing before the enarxis of the service, which is provided for by the liturgical taxis. Where their subject presented some relation with what was being celebrated, various hymns from pre-existing hymnography were selected at that

477. "Ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε..."
478. "Νῦν ἀπολύεις..."
479. PG 155:220c–220d.

time. But neither everywhere nor always were the same hymns said. In the manuscripts and contemporary practice, we have quite a variety for each instance.

In any case, both the troparia of Saint Kōnstantinos in the services for the betrothal and marriage and the apolytikion of Theophany—much more of the Meeting of Christ—in the service of baptism, are, as we said, later additions and do not organically belong to the services in question. If local tradition requires them, it is not harmful for them to be chanted. Certainly, the more correct thing is for them to slowly become extinct. As for the required preliminary censing, this can be done in silence in baptism and betrothal. In marriage, the time is covered by the beautiful, fitting, and ancient eisodikon, namely, Psalm 127 ("Blessed are all who fear the Lord...")[480] with the ephymnion, "Glory to you, our God, glory to you."[481]

What we said above regarding the absence of special hymnography and the effort of selecting related hymns and introducing them in the various services for their adornment, also applies precisely regarding the service of holy baptism. In its original form, it did not have any elements of hymnography, a sign also of its antiquity. Its only chanted elements are "Amen," "Lord, have mercy," "To you, O Lord," "Glory to you, O Lord, glory to you," "Alleluia," and so forth, which were recited or chanted by the people. "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ..."[482] is the hymn that was chanted instead of the trisagion during the Divine Liturgy, with which baptism was inextricably connected.

The oldest hymn chanted nowadays during the service of baptism is Psalm 31 ("Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven..."),[483] which is also alluded to by Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem in his *Catecheses* ("Even now let your ears seem to ring with that glorious sound which the angels will raise when you gain salvation.

480. "Μακάριοι πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Κύριον..."
481. "Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι."
482. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε..."
483. "Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι..."

'Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven and whose sins were covered,' when, like the stars of the Church, you will come in with your bodies shining and your souls radiant,"[484] *Procatechesis* 15 – "Be washed... that the angelic host may exclaim[485] to you: 'Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven...,'"[486] *Catechesis 1*, 1) and which is attested to by all the manuscripts. This was chanted after baptism or after the anointing as an eisodikon for the clergy and the newly illumined from the baptistery into the temple. As it seems, only the first verse was chanted three times, with "Glory both now" at the end, just about as occurs with the trisagion. If the entrance lasted longer, verses from the remaining psalm were added during the chanting and "Blessed are those..." was repeated at each one of them. Thus, according to the Typikon of the Evergetis (*Codex Athens 788*), during Great Saturday the first verse was chanted twice in the grave tone, afterwards again twice with the following two verses, "Blessed is the man..."[487] and "I said I will declare...,"[488] and twice more without a verse. In almost a similar fashion, it was also chanted in the Great Church (*Codex Patmos 266*).[489] We also have similar witnesses from other manuscripts regarding baptism in general or specifically for baptism on Great Saturday. Symeōn of Thessaloniki places the chanting of "Blessed are those..." after "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...." According to him, likely the entire psalm was chanted ("When the chanters say 'Blessed...' and the rest of the psalm," *Dialogue*, chapter 67).[490] The priests or the patriarch together with the chanters, the people,

484. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis* 15 in *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Edward Yarnold, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 85 (translation modified).

485. "ἐπιφωνήση."

486. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Catechesis 1* 1 in *Cyrilli Hiersolymorum Archiepiscopi Opera quae supersunt Omnia*, ed. W.K. Reischl and J. Rupp (Munich: Sumtibus librariae Lentnerianae, 1848–60), 1:28

487. "Μακάριος ἀνήρ..."

488. "Εἶπα ἐξαγορεύσω..."

489. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 2:244–245.

490. PG 155:233a.

and the choir of "the orphans"[491] chanted "Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven…" in Saint Sophia of Constantinople. This concerns an ancient form of festive chanting that is organically connected with holy baptism, just as the Fathers interpreted this psalm in a baptismal manner (see Athanasios the Great, *To Marcellinus* 18: "When you see those who are baptized and redeemed from their corrupt birth and you are filled with wonder over God's love for humankind, sing your praise in the Thirty-First [Psalm] to those,"[492] and the same author, *On Psalm 31*: "He calls blessed those who have obtained remission through the bath of regeneration… For he is truly blessed, who comes with a whole heart to holy baptism… transgressions are forgiven through baptism…"[493]).

However, already in manuscripts from the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries, the first witnesses are encountered for the introduction also of another hymn during the clothing of the newly illumined. This concerns the heirmos of the sixth ode of the plagal of the fourth tone, "Grant to me a shining chitōn…"[494] (*Codices Athens S. 724, S. 696 and Pantokratoros 149*). The white chitōn (χιτῶν) that the baptized is dressed in, which was also called both "baptismal"[495] or "radiant dress"[496] and "outer garment,"[497] is a symbol "of the divine light and angelic purity; for the baptized one is a son of light and has

491. "τῶν ὀρφανῶν." According to Bissera V. Pentcheva and Jonathan S. Abel, "Icons of Sound: Auralizing the Lost Voice of Hagia Sophia," *Speculum* (2017): S534: "The *psaltai* formed a visual and aural focus in the nave of Hagia Sophia. In his legislation, Justinian specified their number at 25. An additional 110 *anagnostai*, or readers, joined in the singers; their number increased to 160 by 617. The sound of these state choirs was enhanced further by monastic, women's, and orphans' choirs distributed in the interior of the Great Church."

492. PG 27:32a. Translation modified from Robert C. Gregg, trans., *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and The Letter to Marcellinus*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1980), 116–117.

493. PG 127:161b.

494. "Χιτῶνά μοι παράσχου φωτεινόν…" The word "χιτῶν" is often translated as "robe" for the purpose of chanting the hymn in English. However, throughout this translation, it will be retained as "chitōn."

495. "ἐμφώτειος." The translation of "ἐμφώτειος" follows Lampe as "baptismal," but its literal meaning is "of illumination."

496. "φωτοειδὴς ἐσθής"

497. "ἀναβόλιον."

been shown forth completely undefiled and pure thus being made perfect" (Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 67).[498] The symbolism of the shining white chitōn or the theological meaning of baptism as a putting on of Christ (compare, "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ, have put on Christ," Gal 3:27) drew the above heirmos to this place ("a chitōn...shining...being clothed in light as a garment...Christ").[499] The selection was indeed quite successful.

Thus, two elements of the service had their hymnological adornment: the baptism with "Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven..." and the clothing with "Grant to me a shining chitōn...." Their chanting did not only meet an aesthetic need, but also a practical one. Namely, it covered the brief time that was required for exiting from the font, the wiping off of the newly illuminated in the first place, and his/her dressing in the chitōn in the second.

The addition of the katabasies of the Exaltation of the Precious Cross or those of Pascha came chronologically last. However, here, matters are more complex. The anointing with holy myron was done after the dressing, as our contemporary Euchologia provide for. After the clothing with the chitōn, it appears from the indications of the manuscripts that the priest dressed the newly illumined with a "belt" (ζώνη), "cross" (σταυρόν), "staurion" (σταυρίον), or "stauria" (τὰ σταυρία).[500] These obviously concern the same thing, namely, a strip of cloth or a cord that was put around the neck and was brought crosswise to the chest and then tied in the back or at the waist of the baptized. We are able to conclude this from the indications of some manuscripts: "And after being clothed, wearing the cross, that is to say, the belt crosswise over his neck..." (*Codex Athens S. 724*); "next he is girded with the belt from his neck, and he brings it down making the form of the cross on his heart and turns it around behind him and ties it" (*Megistēs Lavras 21*). In another manuscript,

498. PG 155:232d. This is a summary and not an exact quotation.

499. "Χιτῶνα... φωτεινόν... ὁ ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον... Χριστέ."

500. The words "staurion" (σταυρίον), or "stauria" (τὰ σταυρία) also have their root meaning in the word "cross," but are transliterated to differentiate them.

again, a distinction is made between the "belt," and the "stauria": "He puts on the chitōn... next the stauria; for the first crossing... for the second crossing...for his belt..." (*Pantokratoros 149*). Another manuscript again notes that "[the priest] makes the sign of the cross upon the child," without quibbling about familiar subjects from daily practice (*Athens 668*). In some regions this "crossing"[501] has been preserved in practice with the belt or with a red and white weaving of yarn.[502] After the drying off and the dressing with the white chitōn, the priest places the yarn around the neck and crosses it on the chest. We also find another indication in the *Codex Koutloumousiou 341*: "They gird him with a purple stitched material." Nowadays, they hang the "baptismal cross" on the chest of children, and where the above archaic practice is preserved, they also combine the two, the "stitched material"[503] and the cross. Namely, we have the coexistence of the older with the modern practice. The cross is the modernized form of the old "staurion" of the stitched material or the belt.

The same manuscripts add that when placing the belt around crosswise the priest accompanied this practice with an address, a troparion, or a verse appropriate to the occasion. Thus, according to the *Codex Koutloumousiou 341*, the priest said: "Gird the loin with this power of truth for the averting of every shameful and evil deed."[504] According to *Athens S. 724*, he said: "The cross I have put on, baptism I have received, in the faith I have been sealed, in the fount of the Holy Spirit's bath."[505] This latter phrase ("The cross...") is characterized as a "troparion" and provided for to be said by the priest "for the first crossing [of the stauria]," according to the *Codex Pantokratoros 149*. Again, the *Codex Megistēs Lauras 21* provides for a series of troparia, which I cite, because they both elucidate our

501. "σταύρωμα."

502. "νημάτων," is translated here are yarn, but can be mean "that which is spun," including "thread."

503. "ράμμα."

504. "Περίζωσαι τὴν ὀσφὺν ταύτην δύναμιν ἀληθείας εἰς ἀποτροπὴν πάσης αἰσχρᾶς καὶ πονηρᾶς πράξεως."

505. "Τῷ σταυρῷ ἐνδέδυμαι, τὸ βάπτισμα εἴληφα, τῇ πίστει ἐσφράγισμαι, τῇ πηγῇ τοῦ λουτροῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος."

research and are ancient and beautiful. First is the familiar crucifixion troparion of the First Hour of Great Friday, "When you were crucified, O Christ, the tyranny of the enemy was destroyed...."[506] The following three are encountered only here, and would perhaps be chanted in the first tone, since a particular tone is not specified for them:

Τὸν σταυρὸν ἐφόρεσε* καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἔλαβεν* ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Ἀλληλούϊα.	The cross he wore* and the faith he received* the servant of God* Alleluia.
Τῷ σταυρῷ ἐνδέδυμαι,* τῇ πίστει ἐσφράγισμαι* εἰς ἀέννaον ζωήν.* Ἀλληλούϊα.	The cross I have put on,* in the faith I have been sealed* for eternal life.* Alleluia.
Τὸν σταυρὸν ἐφόρεσε* καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἔλαβε* τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι,* τῷ Χριστῷ ἠκολούθησεν* ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Ἀλληλούϊα.	The cross he wore* and the faith he received* by holy baptism,* Christ he followed* the servant of God.* Alleluia.

In this manner, with the introduction of troparion, after the baptism and the dressing, a third element so characteristic in the sequence of baptismal rites is welcomed, namely, the presentation of the cross to the new Christian, which, unfortunately, together with so many other things, also itself tends to be neglected in our days.

What about also "Inscribing the cross..."[507]? This is encountered for the first and only time, as far as I know, in the *Codex Pantokratoros 149*: "For the second crossing [of the stauria], he says a troparion, the heirmos of 'Inscribing the cross, Moses....'" The meaning of its introduction is the same as that which we saw above for the other troparia of the Cross. The meaning was, we repeat, the underlining of the significance and, in a way, the welcoming of the presentation of the cross, which in addition also covered the brief time that was needed for the crosswise girding of the belt or "stauria." The choice of this heirmos was in any case successful. It combines the themes of

506. "Σταυρωθέντος σου, Χριστέ, ἀνῃρέθη ἡ τυραννίς..."
507. "Σταυρὸν χαράξας..."

the cross and of baptism/the invincible weapon, with the power of which the newly illumined passes from death to life, from the slavery of the noetic Egypt to the freedom of the children of God, since with the inscribing of its form all the adverse powers—the chariots and might of Pharaoh—are crushed in the waters of holy baptism.

From this point forward, a series of misunderstandings begin of the actual purpose of this troparion, its place in the service, and its intended, or not, insertion into it. And all of this is happening in connection with the accommodations that were or are done to the service of holy baptism in order for the old practice, which the Euchologia have, to be adapted to the needs of infant baptism. In the past, we also spoke about this subject. The old practice provides for a dressing of the newly illumined before chrismation. Nowadays, the chrismation and tonsure precede, and the dressing follows afterwards. Besides, the dressing requires a certain amount of time. The same also for the washing of the priest's hands, and even the reading of the prayer for chrismation, and of all or part of the prayers for the tonsure and the washing, which are customarily said together at this point in the service, and not in their place. "Inscribing the cross..." was proven inadequate to cover all these things. And while the rubric of the codex we mentioned is clear and refers to the chanting of the heirmos alone ("he says a troparion, an heirmos from that of the Cross, 'Inscribing the cross, Moses'"), all the katabasies of the Exaltation are drawn by it. When the meaning of the introduction of the troparion was forgotten, the synchronization of the katabasies was sought, at least in relation to the feast of Pascha. Thus, "It is the day of Resurrection..." is introduced for the Paschal period, without it being attested to by texts nor justified by the purpose for which only the heirmos from the first ode of the Cross was originally selected and introduced.

In the Small Euchologion of the Apostolikē Diakonia edition (1956, and so forth), the katabasies of the Cross and of Pascha are not inserted into the service of holy baptism (as well as in the other editions of the Euchologia and Hagiasmataria), but are placed in an appendix with the note: "It is necessary to know that, while the priest is washing after the baptism and the chrismation of the child, it is

a custom for some to chant during Renewal Week and up until the leave-taking of Pascha, the katabasies of the Resurrection, namely, 'It is the day of the Resurrection...,' and so forth, but during the rest of the year, the katabasies of the Exaltation of the Precious Cross, 'Inscribing the cross, Moses...,' and so forth, some of which we also include here for accommodation of those following customs."[508] Conversely, in the Small Euchologia of the M. Saliveros edition, edited by the chancellor Eustathios Skarpas (Athens, no date) and of the edition of the bishop of Boston (afterwards of Thyateira) Athēnagoras (1943), the chanting of the katabasies is condemned: "The katabasies 'Inscribing the cross...' and so forth, are chanted by the chanters and if for no other reason, for them to justify the presence of the chanters at the mystery of holy baptism. The katabasies have no bearing here. [Instead of them, he recommends for the prayers to be read aloud]. And if after their completion, the dressing of the one baptized has not been completed, then the chanters can chant the katabasies or whatever else, lest silence intervenes" (Skarpas).[509] "It is wrong for the various katabasies to be chanted. There are no katabasies in the mystery of baptism; we imagine that they were introduced, either for the time gap required for the dressing of the baby to be filled, or for the chanting talent of the priest or of the chanter to be displayed" (Athēnagoras).[510] See also Methodios Kontostanos, Metropolitan of Kerkyra, *Teletourgikē*, Kerkyra 1958, p. 228, footnote 1: "During the handwashing, some are accustomed to chant the usually chanted katabasies, mainly those of the Cross...We have the opinion that they are unnecessary, because there is nothing said about katabasies in the rubric of the ritual for the mystery. But

508. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον* (Ἀθῆναι: Ἔκδοσις τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1956), 413.

509. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον ἢ Ἁγιασματάριον τὸ Μέγα: περιέχον ἀκολουθίας & εὐχὰς ἐκλεχθείσας ἐκ τοῦ Μεγάλου Εὐχολογίου ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιστασίᾳ Πρωτοσυγκέλλου Εὐσταθίου Α. Σκάρπα* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, n.d.), 264, n. 1.

510. Ἀθηναγόρας Καββάδας, *Εὐχολόγιον ἢ Ἁγιασματάριον: περιέχον τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια καὶ τὰς κυριωτέρας ἱερὰς ἀκολουθίας τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Pomfert Center, CT: Τύποις Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς, 1943), 41.

Psalm 31 also suffices for being chanted until the conclusion of the handwashing. The katabasies are thoughtlessly interpolated."[511]

The criticisms above are partially right and partially wrong. They are right in regard to the chanting of the katabasies of Pascha or the remaining ones of the Cross apart from the heirmos of the first ode. The criticisms are wrong regarding the chanting of the heirmos of the first ode. However, since the handwashing is done immediately after the bestowal of the cross and at the same time while the baby is dressed, the heirmos of the first ode was proven inadequate to cover both. Thus, the heirmoi of the other odes were added, although the heirmoi of the fourth, seventh, and eighth odes are completely irrelevant, and the ninth refers to the feast of the Exaltation. The heirmoi of the fifth and the sixth odes could be added, which refer to the cross, even though they are not associated with baptism.

Instead of the katabasies, some chant other more relevant hymns, such as the first resurrectional eōthinon doxastikon, "The Lord stood before the disciples who hastened to the mountain...,"[512] which is a poetic commentary on the gospel reading of baptism, or the lauds of Theophany ("Light from light Christ our God has shone upon the world..."[513] and so forth). These troparia are certainly related to the baptism, but not to the cross that was, as we saw, the original purpose for the introduction of the troparia. Finally, the chanting of Psalm 31 is here inopportune since its place is immediately after the baptism and both the dressing with "Grant to me a shining chitōn..." and the bestowal of the cross have already intervened.

As for the participation of the people—or of the chanters—in the service of baptism, this does not depend only on the katabasies. We have already enumerated quite a few traditional elements that ensure the participation of the people in the service. In general, in the celebration of the mysteries, even the Divine Liturgy, the priest who celebrates the mystery and reads the prayers has the primary role.

511. Μεθόδιος Κοντοστάνος, *Τελετουργικὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας*, 2 vols. (Kerkyra: Τυπογραφεῖον Γ. Ξ. Βλάχου, 1958), 1:228, n. 1. Methodios Kontostanos (1881–1972) was Metropolitan of Kerkyra (r. 1942–1967).

512. "Εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῖς μαθηταῖς..."

513. "Φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς ἔλαμψε τῷ κόσμῳ..."

The people participate in a listening state and respond with "Amen," "Lord have mercy," and so forth, and chant very few hymns. On the contrary, in the services of prayer, such as Vespers, Matins, Hours, Compline, Midnight Office, and so forth, the chanting that is done by the people dominates and the priest's participation is reduced.

In order to summarize what we wrote, the following must be the expression of ceremonial practices and chanting, more correct and more consistent with tradition, at this part of the service of holy Baptism:

1) Baptism – "Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven and whose sins were covered," three times. (The remaining verses are irrelevant).

2) Putting on of the chitōn – "Grant to me a shining chitōn ...."

3) The prayer for myron/chrismation.

4) Presentation of the cross – "Inscribing the cross, Moses..." (only).

Or according to the modern taxis: Baptism – "Blessed...", chrismation – tonsure – dressing with the chitōn – "Grant to me a shining chitōn..." – presentation of the cross – "Inscribing the cross..." – handwashing – prayers of chrismation, and so forth.

351

When adults approach for holy baptism must they be baptized while wearing a white chitōn?

352

After baptism, must children necessarily be dressed in white clothing, as was formerly customary, or is it irrelevant?

The approach of adults for holy baptism nowadays is not unusual, not only in missionary countries, where naturally this constitutes the rule, but also in our own country,[514] if we at least judge from the news that we often read in the newspapers. Their baptism creates a series of problems, and this is because, as we also wrote previously,

514. Greece.

with infant baptism the manner of baptizing adults was forgotten. In general, our Euchologia have not been adapted for the baptism of infants, even though the standard rubrics speak about "the child" or "the baby." Moreover, the adaptations that were done for the practical needs of infant baptism are also applied to the baptism of adults because, in the meantime, the relevant living tradition was lost. In other answers, we already saw different aspects and sought traditional solutions for those questions emerging either from the one or the other viewpoint of this two-sided problem (see the answers to 43, 87, 155, 191, 192, 193, 254, and 255).

The topic of baptismal garments[515] has not specifically occupied us in the past. In connection with previous questions, we parenthetically saw that the chanting of the heirmos of the sixth ode of the plagal of the fourth tone, "Grant to me a shining chitōn...,"[516] was introduced after the dressing with the white chitōn, and we noted the reasons that justify the choice of this troparion and its connection with the clothing of the newly illumined with the white "outer garment."[517]

This relevant tradition is unanimous and pan-Christian. In the entire Christian world, the newly illumined were dressed in white garments after their baptism, which they removed on the eighth day after baptism during the washing. Accounts reach back to the fourth century and are so many that it is neither useful nor possible for them to be mentioned here. In the book of the lecturer Ēlias Voulgarakēs, *The Catecheses of Kyrillos of Jerusalem,* Thessaloniki 1977, the references to texts of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of East and West, which confirm that the baptismal garment everywhere was white, take up two whole pages (pp. 418–420, footnote 144).[518]

515. "ἐμφωτείων ἐνδυμάτων." The translation of "ἐμφώτειος" follows Lampe as "baptismal," but its literal meaning is "of illumination."

516. "Χιτῶνά μοι παράσχου φωτεινόν..."

517. "ἀναβόλιον."

518. Ἠλίας Βουλγαράκης, *Αἱ Κατηχήσεις τοῦ Κυρίλλου Ἱεροσολύμων: Ἱεραποστολικὴ θεώρησις*, Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 24 (Θεσσαλονίκη: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἵδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1977), 418–420, n. 144. Phountoulēs bases his patristic citations on the latter work. For another study of baptismal garments,

In the same manner, the rubrics of the early and late manuscript Euchologia and of the liturgical Typika are unanimous that attest to "the white clothes"[519] or to "the white chitōn," with which the newly illumined were dressed, if they do not ignore it as self-evident.

The exclusive choice and so persistent an adherence to the white garment was not random or arbitrary, but consistent with the theological meaning of baptism and the symbolism of white. According to Holy Scripture, "white like snow" is the garment of the "ancient of days" during the theophanies[520] (Dan 7:9); of Christ during the Transfiguration (Matt 17:2: "his garments became white as the light," Mark 9:3, Luke 9:29); of the angels at the Resurrection and the Ascension (Matt 28:3, Mark 16:5, John 20:12); and of the conquerors, martyrs, and chosen of God in Revelation (3:4, 5; 6:11; 7:9, 13). Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem already highlights the spiritual significance of white garments and the obligation of the new Christian to be "spiritually" clad in white throughout his or her entire life. "Now that you have taken off your old garments, you must wear white forever. At any rate, we do not say this, that you must always put on white garments, but those truly white and shining and spiritual, so that you can say in accordance with Blessed Isaiah: 'let my soul rejoice in the Lord, for he has clothed me in the garment of salvation and arrayed me in the chitōn of gladness'[521]" (*Mystagogic Catechesis 4*, 8).[522] Many Fathers and ecclesiastical writers highlight various symbolisms for the white garment of the newly illumined. They consider it an image of the spiritual or mystical purity of the soul that the Christian acquired through holy baptism (Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *Catechesis 7*, 24; Michaël Glykas, *On Questions of Divine Scripture*,

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see John Edward Farrell, "The Garment of Immortality: A Concept and Symbol in Christian Baptism" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1974).

519. "στολὴν λευκήν."

520. "θεοφάνειες."

521. Is 61:10.

522. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystogogic Catechesis* 4, 8 in *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Edward Yarnold, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 180–181 (translation modified).

chapter 18; Ephraim the Syrian, *Hymns for Theophany* 6, 15: "White, they were dressed with white garments, white inside and outside, your bodies and your garments"[523]); an image of incorruption (Basileios of Seleucia, *On Holy Pascha,* 5); an image of divine brightness and joy (Grēgorios the Theologian, *Oration 40 on Baptism*); an image of the bright and resplendent world into which the newly illumined entered through baptism (Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechetical Homily 14,* 26); an image of the purity and brightness of the angels (Iōb the Monk, *Bibliotheca,* 222, Narsis, *Homily 21*); and an image of the shining garments of Christ during the Transfiguration (Grēgorios of Nyssa, *On the Song of Songs,* 1). Symeōn of Thessaloniki attaches more symbolisms. He considers the white chitōn, "a representation of the divine light and angelic purity, for the one who is baptized is a son of light and entirely spotless and pure" (*Dialogue,* chapter 67).[524]

But even within the liturgical taxis of holy baptism, in an entirely later period, elements have also been introduced that highlight this importance and symbolism. We already saw the heirmos, "Grant to me a shining chitōn...," in the previous answer, which so accurately adorns the bestowal of the baptismal garment, and its meaning. The believer is likened, through holy baptism, to Christ himself even as to clothing. The latter takes on the light as a garment. He grants to the believer the shining white chitōn, the "radiant"[525] robe, as Pseudo-

523. Ephraim, *Hymns for the Feast of Epiphany, Hymn 6.15,* in Edmund Beck, ed., *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania),* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 186, Scriptores Syri 82 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1959), 53. Beck's translation of the hymn is, "Die alten Schafe drinnen * eilen herbei, den (Friedens) kuß zu geben – den neuen Lämmern, die (neu) hinzugekommen sind. * Weiße kleideten sich in Weiß; – innen und außen weiß, * eure Körper wie eure Kleider," Edmund Beck, trans., *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania),* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 187, Scriptores Syri 883 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1959), 149. See also the translation by J. B. Morris in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace,* Series 2, vol. 13, *Gregory the Great (II), Ephraim Syrus, Aphrahat* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 496.

524. PG 155:232d.

525. "φωτοειδῆ."

Dionysios calls it (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.3.8).[526] In our contemporary Euchologia, when clothing the newly illumined with a white chitōn, the priest says: "The servant of God [name] is clothed with the chitōn of righteousness in the name of Father...."[527] The correct reading that is attested to by the manuscripts is not "chitōn of righteousness"[528] but "chitōn of gladness"[529] (according to Isa 61:10) or "chitōn of exultation"[530] or "chitōn of gladness and exultation"[531] or "chitōn of incorruption"[532] (*Codices Athens 665, 848, 664, Megistēs Lavras 88,* and so forth). These adjectives precisely render the symbolism that the Fathers give to the white chitōn. But also, according to other codices, the clothing with the white chitōn also followed a special address that exalted its importance. "Receive bright and unblemished clothing, which you will bring without filth before the bēma of our Lord Jesus Christ and have life eternal"[533] (*Codices Koutloumousiou 341, Sinai 966*) or they accompanied its bestowal with the phrase from Isaiah (61:10): "let my soul rejoice in the Lord, for he has clothed me in the garment of salvation and arrayed me in the chitōn of gladness..." (*Athens 664*), which is also cited, as we saw, by Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem.

We strongly insisted on the meaning of the white baptismal chitōn, after we emphasized its pan-Christian usage, to show how indefensible we are before our tradition. We did not exclude the existence of praiseworthy examples that maintain the tradition of the white clothing. But if we very often see newly illumined dressed,

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526. PG 3:404c.

527. "Ἐνδύεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ [δεῖνα] χιτῶνα δικαιοσύνης εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρός..." The Greek word, δεῖνα (so-and-so), is often parenthetically inserted as a placeholder in prayers and petitions where specific name(s) can be inserted. In the present translation, the word "name" has been used to translate this word.

528. "χιτῶνα δικαιοσύνης."

529. "χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης."

530. "χιτῶνα ἀγαλλιάσεως."

531. " χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως."

532. "χιτῶνα ἀφθαρσίας."

533. "Λάβε στολὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον, ἣν προσκομίσεις δίχα ρύπου πρὸ τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἔξεις ζωὴν αἰώνιον."

after their baptism, with clothes of various colors and if the most ancient tradition of baptismal white tends to be lost, our uncatechized people are not at fault in the final analysis. The responsibility weighs upon their spiritual guides, who do not enlighten them regarding the lofty significance of these sacred symbols.

But how will the reverend priests teach the faithful that parents clothe their newly illumined children with white garments, if they themselves during holy baptism, instead of wearing white vestments, as tradition and ecclesiastical taxis require, wear whatever color they find at hand? According to the rubrics of the manuscripts that survived and in the printed Euchologia, the priests "change into a white vestment" in order to celebrate holy baptism and, according to older rubrics, also a "white sticharion" and even "white footwear" (*Codices Patmos 266, Athens 662)*. Thus, the priests themselves, with the color of their vestments, constituted the symbol of the "renewed world" into which the faithful are lead through holy baptism (Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 14*, 14).[534]

Now we arrive at the answer to the first question. Consistent with what we wrote, the newly illumined adults are clothed after baptism with white garments, namely, the "baptismal"[535] chitōn, regarding which we discussed above. Its presentation[536] must certainly be done, not cursorily as usually done for infants, but in a manner that is worthy of the theological importance and the symbolism of this clothing, after saying clearly and with emphasis the relevant phrase that accompanies its bestowal ("The servant of God is clothed...")[537]—and why not the traditional address, "Receive bright and unblemished clothing..."[538]—and the festive chanting of

534. Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 14*, 14 in *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ed. and trans. Raymond M. Tonneau and Robert Devresse, Studi e Testi 145 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 429–433.

535. "ἐμφώτειο."

536. "παράδοσις" here is used in the sense of the act of formally giving or bestowing.

537. "Ἐνδύεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ..."

538. "Λάβε στολὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον..."

"Grant to me a shining chitōn..." will follow during the dressing. The baptismal garment had the form and the shape of the chitōn or dress of that era, and for this reason was called a "baptismal chitōn"[539] or "baptismal dress."[540] It was something like the priestly sticharion. The liturgical requirement was that it necessarily ought to be white. Afterwards, clothing design changed. Symeōn of Thessaloniki knew that the "outer garment"[541] or the "baptismal garment"[542] was formerly a secular garment ("and was formerly a garment," *Dialogue*, chapter 68).[543] From what he writes, it appears that during his era this type of garment was no longer in secular use but was preserved by tradition during baptism. However, also again, in comparison to the contemporary radical change of the manner of dress, the difference to secular garments must not have been great. Nowadays, things are different. I think that the most correct thing here would be for the intention and symbolism of the old practice to be maintained and not the external form. The baptismal garment nowadays cannot be anything other than that used in daily life, only that it would be white. Thus, it is precisely emphasized, as also in the early era, that the Christian is not transformed into an otherworldly and strange archaic subject but is changed within the contemporary world as an authentic genuine person during the radiant change of the new life in Christ.

Consequently, the white garment concerns the dressing of the newly illumined after baptism. What should the one being baptized wear during the baptism? The dressing with the white baptismal chitōn is integrated into a triptych of symbolisms: In the removal of the old clothing, the baptism with clothing of Adam,[544] and

539. "ἐμφώτειος χιτών." As stated above, the translation of "ἐμφώτειος" follows Lampe as "baptismal," but its literal meaning is "of illumination."

540. "ἐμφώτειος ἐσθής."

541. "ἀναβόλιον."

542. "ἐμφώτειο ἔνδυμα."

543. PG 155:233d.

544. "μὲ ἀδαμιαία περιβολή," in other words, "without clothing" or "naked," namely, "Adam-like clothing."

the dressing with white. The stripping of the chitōn[545] was done in the "dressing room"[546] of the baptistery after the renunciation, the joining, and the confession of faith. This was "an image of the renunciation of the old man together with his deeds... For since the hostile powers made their lair in our limbs, it was no longer permitted for us to wear that old chitōn—of course I am not referring to the visible one but to the old humanity that is corruptible according to the desires of delusion,[547] which, may the soul that has once taken this off not put on again" (Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystagogic Catechesis 2*, 2).[548] Chrysostomos also considers the removal of the garments as a symbol of putting aside "the old garment of sin" that is filled with much "shame" (*Catechesis 2*, 25, *Catechesis 3*, 8).[549] Theodōros of Mopsuestia interprets it as the removal of the chitōns of skins with which fallen humanity was clothed because of sin (Gen 3:21; *Catechesis 14*, 8).[550]

Thus, entirely naked (see "stripping him completely," Pseudo-Dionysios, *Concerning Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.2.7)[551] the catechumen was anointed with the oil of exorcism "from the topmost hairs until the lowest parts of the body" (Kyrillos of Jerusalem,

545. The chitōn referred to is the "old chitōn" that is discussed in the quotation from Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem, and not the new chitōn that will be presented after the baptism.

546. "ἀπόδυτον."

547. "τῆς ἀπάτης." This term may also be translated as "deception, delusion, error" (Lampe, s.v. "ἀπάτη, ἡ").

548. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystogogic Catechesis 2*, 2 in *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Edward Yarnold, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 173 (translation modified).

549. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *Catechesis 2*, 25 in Jean Chrysostome, *Huit Catéchèses Baptismales*, ed. Antoine Wenger, Sources Chrétiennes 50 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1957), 147, and Catechesis 3, 8 in Varia graeca sacra. Сборник греческих неизданных богословских текстов IV–XV веков с предисловием и указателем, ed. Афанасий Иванович Пападопуло-Керамевс (Санкт-Петербург: типография В.Ф. Киршбаума, 1909), 174.

550. Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 14*, 8 in *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ed. and trans. Raymond M. Tonneau and Robert Devresse, Studi e Testi 145 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 417–419.

551. PG 3:396c.

Mystagogic Catechesis 2, 3)[552] and descended into the font. Symeōn of Thessaloniki, who recapitulates the patristic teaching, emphasizes that the catechumen presents himself/herself naked for the baptism, just as he/she was born naked and was created naked in the beginning. Thus, with holy baptism, he/she is reborn and recreated naked, since he/she sheds the shame of sin in it: "Therefore, next he is led completely naked into the water, just as he was both born and first created. But in the beginning, he had that divine garment and while naked was not ashamed, and now, while born naked, he bears from the flesh the things of the shame of transgression. However, when entering the holy water, he casts away the shame of sin and receives both glory and the garment of incorruptibility" (*Dialogue*, chapter 63).[553] Saint Iōannēs Chrysostomos also teaches similarly: "Therefore why be naked? He reminds you of your former nakedness, when you were in Paradise and were not ashamed, for it says, 'Adam and Eve were naked and not ashamed,'[554] until they received the garment of sin, which was full of much shame. Therefore, do not be ashamed here, for the font is much better than paradise" (*Catechesis 3*, 8).[555] Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem also adds the comparison to Christ being naked upon the cross: "After having stripped, you were naked, in this way also imitating Christ naked upon the cross, who in his nakedness also 'stripped the principalities and powers' and boldly 'triumphed over them' on the tree... What a wonderful thing! You were naked in the eyes of all and felt no shame. For you truly bore the imitation of Adam the first-formed, who was naked in paradise and

552. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystogogic Catechesis 2*, 3 in *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Edward Yarnold, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 173 (translation modified).

553. PG 155:228b–228c.

554. The text is a paraphrase of Genesis 2:25.

555. Based on the text numbering, Phountoulēs is referencing the third of a series of Chrysostomos texts published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Афанасий Иванович Пападопуло-Керамевс, *Varia graeca sacra*. Сборник греческих неизданных богословских текстов IV–XV веков с предисловием и указателем (Санкт-Петербург: типография В.Ф. Киршбаума, 1909), 173–174. Translation modified from Paul W. Harkins, trans., *St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*, Ancient Christian Writers, Vol. 31 (New York, NY: Newman Press, 1963), 170.

'was not ashamed'[556]" (*Mystagogic Catechesis 2*, 2).[557] Blessed Nikolaos Kabasilas, who also theologizing and interpreting, "by stripping naked once for all, and laying aside the last chitōn," after he referred to the traditional symbolisms of the laying aside of the chitōns of skins and the return through holy baptism to the paradisiacal and blissful life of Adam the first-formed, he concludes that this is "a sign...that we now come 'to the true light'[558] bringing nothing with us." Thus, the "shadow of death" is removed, as well as anything that "walls off" and is inserted as a barrier between humankind and "the blessed ray" of divine light, "just as garments are a wall between this light and the bodies" (*Concerning the Life in Christ*, 2.25–26).[559]

This old practice was precisely preserved also in the infant baptism (undressing – baptism of the naked child – dressing with baptismal clothing). In the baptism of adults, despite the so clear testimonies of tradition and its so characteristic theological meaning, this is no longer observed. The ones being baptized are not baptized naked, but we usually see them approaching baptism with a white chitōn. The reason is obvious. On the one hand, confusion regarding the white baptismal chitōn caused it, and on the other hand, reasons of modesty. But apart from the antitheological and antitraditional nature of the matter, the chitōn, instead of perhaps covering the body, clings to it when soaked after baptism; let alone the unsightly, and let us admit, somewhat absurdity of the entire practice—a clothed person being submerged into the water and coming out of it drenched from the waters and oils of the font. I also leave aside the facts that the chitōn even makes impossible the complete anointing of the one baptized with the oil of exorcism that the liturgical taxis requires and that lost is the contrast of the old

556. Gen 2:25.

557. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystogogic Catechesis* 2, 2 in *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Edward Yarnold, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 173 (translation modified).

558. Gen 28:18–22.

559. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Concerning the Life in Christ*, 2.25–26 in *Nicolas Cabasilas, La Vie en Christ*, trad. and ed. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Sources Chrétiennes 355 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 152–155. The misidentification of the text numbering as 2.15 is replaced with the correct 2.25–26 above.

with the new baptismal chitōn, with which the newly illumined will be clothed after baptism.

The writer will not attempt the search for a correct solution. However, returning to the beginning of the answer, the distortion that the correct practice of baptism suffered because of infant baptism should be noted. Because, as we have seen, while the correct taxis is observed during the baptism of infants, it[560] became a cause for the original manner of baptism to be neglected. Namely, baptism was not a public spectacle, as it was natural to become with the baptism of babies. The baptisteries were relatively small areas and the place, in which the catechumens entered in order to undress ("ἀποδυτόν")[561] and receive holy baptism naked ("ἄδυτον"),[562] was separated with curtains. Behind the curtains or makeshift suspended sheets, respectable women, deaconesses, or widows took care of the anointing with the oil of exorcism and the baptism of women, and afterwards their clothing with the baptismal garments.[563] The same also for the baptism of men, where the candidates for baptism, the sponsors, and the priests alone were present. Afterwards, the newly illumined came out from the baptistery and entered the nave[564] with the priests, where the church awaited them in order to celebrate together with them the event of their redemption and to participate with them in the celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist.

All of these traditional elements can help in the search and discovery of a more correct solution both from the point of view of liturgical taxis and of theological theory. Certainly, a necessary presupposition is the creation of special areas for the baptism of adults and the return to ancient baptisteries, just as we also wrote in the past (see the answer to question 255). As for the baptism of women,

560. Namely, infant baptism.
561. "dressing room."
562. "hidden place."
563. On widows, see Valerie A. Karras, "The Liturgical Functions of Consecrated Women in the Byzantine Church," *Theological Studies* 66 (2005): 96–116; and Bonnie Bowman Thurston, *The Widows: A Women's Ministry in the Early Church* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989).
564. "ὁ κυρίως ναός."

deaconesses do not exist nowadays, but there are plenty of nuns who when appropriately trained could perform these the duties of the ancient deaconesses pertaining to holy baptism.

Regarding subjects that relate to the history of holy baptism, such as the ones we touched upon above, and the ones that we will see in the following answer, more can be seen in the above referenced exhaustive and massive treatise of the lecturer Ēlias Voulgarakēs, *The Catecheses of Kyrillos of Jerusalem.* Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1977.[565]

353

Is it required for the entire body of the one being baptized to be anointed by the sponsor with the blessed oil during the mystery of holy baptism? Is not the anointment of certain parts of the body sufficient, which the Euchologia prescribe? Why should this anointing be done and what meaning does it have?

It is not possible for the answer to be provided to questions of such a nature solely on the basis of logic or by means of comparison as is done in other similar instances. The traditional practice must be sought in each case, as it is attested to by the texts of the Fathers and by the standard rubrics that prescribe it. Afterwards, we can seek, insofar as it is possible, from the theology again of the Fathers and from the content of the prayers, theoretical reasons that contributed to determining for it to be conducted in this manner as prescribed by the practice of the Church and the standard rubrics.

For example, in the mystery of chrismation or of unction, or in the anointings with blessed oil of a saint's lamp, or even in Hagiasmoi, we do not have an anointing of the entire body, but certain parts, in some manner representative (head, senses, hands, and so forth), or even only the forehead. Thus, it is believed that the Hagiasmos or purification passes to the entire person, without his/her entire body necessarily being anointed or being sprinkled.

565. Ἠλίας Βουλγαράκης, *Αἱ Κατηχήσεις τοῦ Κυρίλλου Ἱεροσολύμων: Ἱεραποστολικὴ θεώρησις*, Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 24 (Θεσσαλονίκη: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἵδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1977).

However, in the anointing with the oil of exorcism or the oil of the catechumens, the ecclesiastical practice from ancient times up until nowadays requires the anointing of the entire body with it. It appears that the bishop or the priest originally sealed, namely, anointed in the shape of a cross only the forehead of the catechumen, saying either "The servant of God [name] is anointed with the oil of gladness in the name of the Father...,"[566] which is provided for by our Euchologia, or other similar phrases, such as "[Name] is anointed in the name of..." (Theodōros Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 13* and *14*)[567] or "I anoint you with this oil for liberation from every evil and unclean spirit and freedom from all evil" (*Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ,* 2.8)[568] or "Let every unclean spirit depart from you" (*Apostolic Tradition, Egyptian Church Order*)[569] or "I anoint you with

566. Χρίεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ (δεῖνα) ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρός..."

567. Theodōros Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 13* and *14* in, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ed. and trans. Raymond M. Tonneau and Robert Devresse, Studi e Testi 145 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 397 and 419.

568. I. E. Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi nunc primum edidit, latine reddidit et illustravit* (Mainz: Sumptibus Francisci Kirchem, 1899), 129. Phountoulēs did not include the book number in his citation, which is provided above. This work is considered an enlarged version of the *Apostolic Tradition* in Syriac and is dated in the fifth century or later half of the fourth century, see Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 86–87.

569. *Apostolic Tradition* 21 in *Hippolyte de Rome, La Tradition Apostolique*, trad. Bernard Botte, Sources Chrétiennes No. 11bis (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 82–83 and Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 1:390. The work is known as *Apostolic Tradition* or *Egyptian Church Order*. Scholarly opinion is divided regarding this identification, see Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 327–328 and the discussion in Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 1:263–264, n. 1. The dating of the text is disputed and thought by many scholars to be an authentic work of Hippolytus of Rome from the third century, see Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 80–83. Bradshaw traces its influence on the *Apostolic Constitutions* (fourth century), *Epitome of the Apostolic Constitutions, Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ* (fifth century), and *Canons of the Hippolytus* (fourth century). For a discussion of these

holy chrism against every adverse activity and for grafting upon the good olive-tree of your Church; and do good" (*Ethiopian Tradition, Egyptian Liturgy*).[570] Later this seal was also extended to the chest and the back, and much later to other parts of the body.[571] Each new seal was accompanied with a biblical phrase, as we see in later manuscripts and in printed editions and just as it is done from oral tradition and during the anointing of other parts that are not provided for by the Euchologia.

However, the sealing of the forehead or even of the other parts was never considered sufficient. After the bishop or the priest sealed the forehead of the phōtizomenos, already from the most ancient period the anointing followed of the entire body with the oil of exorcism, which was done by the priest or the deacon, or the deaconess for women, or by other persons or the sponsor (see the answer to question 222. There, a few things are said regarding the meaning of the anointing). It is very significant that this extension of the anointing to the whole body did not take place in an era of decline in order for it to be simply attributed to reasons of simpleminded piety or even to a misunderstanding of the meaning of anointing or to an incorrect interpretation of the old standard rubrics. On the contrary, the witnesses here are most ancient, unanimous, and

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sources in Coptic, see Hubert Kaufhold, "Sources of Canon Law in the Eastern Churches" in *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law*, in *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 263–270.

570. These sources are cited as, "*Αἰθιοπικὴ Παράδοσις, Αἰγυπτιακὴ Λειτουργία.*" For the *Ethiopian Tradition* text, this appears to be similar to that later cited as the *Ethiopian Church Order (Αἰθιοπικὴ Διάταξις)*. In both cases, see G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904), 170, 174. Compare E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 3rd rev. and enl. ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 87–88, and the texts and discussion in Stefanos Alexopoulos and Maxwell Johnson, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Liturgies* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press Academic, 2022), 14–17. Similar imagery regarding the olive tree is discussed regarding the homilies of St. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, see question 222 in addition to the points made below.

571. The word "seal" (σφραγίς) and associated terms can refer to the sign of the cross traced on a person or to an anointing.

abundantly clear. The body was anointed entirely, and certainly care was taken for not even a small part of it to remain without receiving anointment with the blessed oil.

For example, Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem informs us that the anointing was done "from the topmost hairs until the lowest parts of the body" (Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystagogic Catechesis 2*, 3).[572] The sacred Chrysostomos states that "the whole body" or "everything" or "all the parts" were anointed (*Catechesis 2*, 24, *On Colossians 6*, 4).[573] Theodōros of Mopsuestia similarly provides that "the whole body" was anointed or that the phōtizomenos was anointed "entirely" (*Catechesis 13* and *14*).[574] Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite states that the anointing was performed "over the whole body" (*Concerning Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.2.7).[575] In the same way, the rubrics of all the manuscript Euchologia prescribe that after the seal of the forehead or certain parts of the body by the priest, "the whole body" is anointed with the oil. The same requirement also applied for the baptism of women, despite the apparent difficulties of the matter. The forehead here was also sealed by the bishop,[576] but the remainder of the body was anointed by the deaconesses ("And in the first place, during the illumination of women, the deacon anoints only the forehead with the holy oil, and after this the deaconess will anoint them; because the women must not be observed by men," *Apostolic Constitutions*

572. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystogogic Catechesis* 2, 3 in *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Edward Yarnold, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 173 (translation modified).

573. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *Catechesis* 2, 24 in Jean Chrysostome, *Huit Catéchèses Baptismales*, ed. Antoine Wenger, Sources Chrétiennes 50 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1957), 147. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, On *Colossians* 6, 4 (PG 62:342). In the translated text, the mistaken numbering of the homily as 6, 2 is corrected to 6, 4 above.

574. Theodōros Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 13* and *14* in, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ed. and trans. Raymond M. Tonneau and Robert Devresse, Studi e Testi 145 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 397 and 419. A phōtizomenos (φωτιζόμενος, ὁ) was a catechumen, who from the middle of Great Lent was preparing to receive holy baptism during the vigil of Pascha.

575. PG 3:396c.

576. "ἐπίσκοπο." The text that follows describes the forehead's anointing by the deacon, not the bishop.

3.16.2).[577] If there were no deaconesses, the anointing was done by other women; in extreme need when no women were present, then an elderly and respectable priest who baptized undertook the anointing alone, perhaps even the woman herself (*Didascalia Apostolorum,* 16, Iōannēs Moschos, *Meadow,* 3).[578]

A special theological significance was attributed by the Fathers and the liturgical texts to this anointing of the whole body with the oil of exorcism that was related to the manifold gifts and spiritual properties which the oil received by the sacerdotal blessing and

577. *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.16.2 in *Les Constitutions Apostoliques,* ed. and trans. Marcel Metzger, SC 329 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), 156–157. For a discussion of the female diaconate and an overview of basic studies, see Valerie A. Karras, "Female Deacons in the Byzantine Church," *Church History* 73 (2004): 272–316.

578. *Didascalia Apostolorum* 16. Saint Iōannēs Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale* 3 (PG 87:2853c–2856b). For an English translation of the *Didascalia Apostolorum,* see Alistair Stewart-Sykes, ed. and trans., *The Didascalia Apostolorum* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 192–195. The *Didascalia Apostolorum* is a Church Order composed originally in Syriac for a sect of Jewish Christians, and which claimed its authority from the apostles. The work is addressed to problems arising from the prescriptions of Old Testament Law and, like other works in this genre, covers discipline, liturgy, and many aspects of church organization. While Susan Wessel locates the work in the third century, Stewart-Sykes argues for a reexamination. For additional information, see the introduction of Stewart-Sykes in the reference cited above and Susan Wessel, "The Formation of Ecclesiastical Law in the Early Church," in *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500,* ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 10–14. Paul F. Bradshaw believes that the Didaskalia exercised influence over the *Apostolic Constitutions* (fourth century). For this discussion, see Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 78–80. Saint Iōannēs Moschos (Ἰωάννης Μόσχος) was a sixth century monastic author who wrote an account of his travels to the monasteries of Palestine and Egypt in the *Spiritual Meadow (Λειμὼν Πνευματικός).* He was a supporter of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in Alexandria and eventually died in Rome (controversy exists among scholars whether this was Old or New Rome), where he composed the latter work that reflects his support for the Fourth Ecumenical Council. This discussion is based on Angelo Di Berardino, ed., *The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (†750),* trans. Adrian Walford, vol. 4 of *Patrology,* Johannes Quasten (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. Ltd, 2000), 301–303.

the invocation of the Holy Spirit. These can be summarized in the following:

1) The oil of exorcism has the power of exorcism. It expels and banishes every adverse diabolical activity from the one being baptized, and for this reason no member of the body must remain unanointed: "The oil of exorcism…is that which will banish every trace of adverse activity. For just as the breathings of the saints and the invocation of the name of God burn like a strong flame and expel demons, so too this oil of exorcism, through our prayer and invocation of God, receives so much power… also to expel the invisible powers of the evil one" (Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystagogic Catechesis 2*, 3).[579] "I anoint you…for liberation from every evil spirit" (*Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 2.8).[580] "That every evil spirit may be expelled from you" (Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition* 21).[581] "The oil is an averter of every adverse activity" (*Egyptian Church Order, Ethiopian Church Order*).[582] "An averter of every diabolical activity"[583] (our Eucholgia's prayer for the oil).[584]

2) It heals spiritual wounds, providing the remission of sins for the one anointed. Commensurate with the "wound of the whole body" is also the anointing of the whole body: "It receives such great power, as not only burning to purify the vestiges of sins…" (Kyrillos

579. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystogic Catechesis 2*, 3 in *Cyrille de Jérusalem, Catéchèses Mystagogiques*, ed. Auguste Piédagnel and trans. Pierre Paris, SC 126 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966),108–109.

580. I. E. Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi nunc primum edidit, latine reddidit et illustravit* (Mainz: Sumptibus Francisci Kirchem, 1899), 129. Phountoulēs omits the book number and does not provide a complete textual citation, which is provided above.

581. *Apostolic Tradition* 21 in *Hippolyte de Rome, La Tradition Apostolique*, trad. Bernard Botte, Sources Chrétiennes No. 11bis (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 82–83.

582. "Ἔλαιον ἀποτρόπαιον πάσης ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας." These sources are cited as, "*Αἰγυπτιακὴ Διάταξις, Αἰθιοπικὴ Διάταξις*." For the Ethiopic text, see G. Horner, The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904), 168.

583. "Πάσης διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποτρόπαιον."

584. On this prayer, see also Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 1:290–291.

of Jerusalem, *Mystagogic Catechesis 2*, 3).[585] "And that he grants [to the oil] spiritual grace, power of action, remission of sins" (*Apostolic Constitutions* 7.42).[586] "We anoint with this anointing those who come intentionally to this divine regeneration, beseeching that our Lord Jesus Christ bring to pass in them healing and strengthening power and reveal himself by this anointing and heal every sign of sin and transgression or satanic blame from their soul, body, and spirit, and grant remission by his own grace" (Serapion of Thmuis, *Euchologion*, 15).[587] "It is indeed also provided to those who have been wounded and scourged by the common enemy, as Christ says in the Gospels" (Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue,* chapter 62).[588]

3) It shields and renders invulnerable from the arrows of the evil one, which will be shot against him/her, every part of the phōtizomenos anointed with the oil of exorcism: "He prepares for the whole body to be anointed with that spiritual oil so that all the parts will be fortified and become impregnable from the missiles coming from the adversary" (Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *Catechesis 2*, 24).[589]

4) The oil of exorcism is, by assonance,[590] the symbol of God's mercy that encompasses the whole person and grants to him/her reconciliation with God, salvation from the worldly flood of sin, and cheerfulness and exultation of the Holy Spirit: "But since the rep-

585. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystagogic Catechesis 2*, 3 in *Cyrille de Jérusalem, Catéchèses Mystagogiques*, ed. Auguste Piédagnel and trans. Pierre Paris, SC 126 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966),108–109. The misidentification of the text as from *Cathechesis* 5.3 is corrected above.

586. *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.42 in *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, ed. and trans. Marcel Metzger, SC 336 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), 100–101.

587. Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis*, OCA 249 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995), 62. Compare the translations by Johnson and Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 463.

588. PG 155:225b.

589. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *Catechesis 2*, 24 in Jean Chrysostome, *Huit Catéchèses Baptismales*, ed. Antoine Wenger, Sources Chrétiennes 50 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1957), 147.

590. The word in Greek for oil, "τὸ ἔλαιον," and the word for mercy, "τὸ ἔλεος," are similar in sound and often interchanged poetically. In addition, the word for olive-tree "ἐλαία" also has a similar poetic symbolism.

resentation of divine mercy must also be present, it is also brought to pass in holy oil…this was also represented in the time of Noah; for a dove came to those who were still with the ark on the water as it carried the branch of an olive-tree (ἐλαίας) in its mouth…the branch of an olive-tree (ἐλαίας), which it bore in its mouth, was in proof of the mercy (ἐλέους) and the infinite kindness of God. From where, also thus in baptism, sanctified oil is offered… Therefore, by this oil [the priest] first anoints the one already intending to be baptized, saying '[name] is anointed with the oil of gladness in the name of the Trinity.' The gladness comes from the Spirit when saving us in a good and joyful manner" (Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapters 62–63).[591] Saint Iōannēs of Damascus theologizes in an analogous manner (*An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 4.9).[592] See also the prayer for the oil and the words that accompany the anointing according the Euchologion, which Symeōn alludes to and comments upon.[593]

5) Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem considers the oil of exorcism as a symbol "of the richness of Christ" and the act of anointing the whole body as a grafting of the whole person to the good olive-tree of Christ and as a communion with "the richness of the true olive-tree": "With the oil of exorcism, you are anointed from the topmost hairs until the lowest parts of the body, and you became communicants of the good olive-tree of Jesus Christ. For after being cut off from the wild olive-tree, you were grafted to the good one and became communicants of the richness of the true olive-tree. Therefore, the oil of exorcism was the symbol of communion of the richness of Christ" (*Mystagogic Catechesis 2*, 3).[594] The *Ethiopian Church*

591. PG 155:225b, 228a–228b.

592. PG 94:1125b.

593. See also the analysis in question 222.

594. Kyrillos of Jerusalem, *Mystagogic Catechesis* 2, 3 in *Cyrille de Jérusalem, Catéchèses Mystagogiques*, ed. Auguste Piédagnel and trans. Pierre Paris, SC 126 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966), 109. Wild or uncultivated olive-trees typically bear small fruit or no fruit at all. When left unattended, olive-trees sprout lower branches that prevent the upper ones from bearing fruit. In order to be restored to fruit bearing, lower branches must be removed and the grafting of branches from cultivated trees needs to take place. This practice is ancient and reflected in the text of Saint Kyrillos.

Order[595] repeats the same thing with other words and goes further, giving an ecclesiastical dimension to the anointing of the one being baptized and draws upon the moral consequences of incorporation into Christ and the Church. The anointed one is grafted to Christ—is implanted in the universal Church—does good as a fruit and as a proof of his/her union with Christ and his spiritual body: "I anoint you... for grafting to the good olive-tree of your Church and do the good" or "as a grafting of the faith to the good and strong olive-tree of your Church that is stretching out everywhere and do good."[596] The *Egyptian Liturgy*[597] similarly states: "Oil... of grafting for those anointed with it to the holy worldwide Church."

6) The sacred Chrysostomos relates the anointing of the whole body with the oil of exorcism to the similar anointing of athletes of that era: "One is anointed, just as the athletes who will go out to the stadium...For he comes not only to be instructed, but also to contend and to be trained" (*On Colossians 6*, 4).[598] Asterios the Sophist, aligning with the same symbolism, calls the anointing with the oil of exorcism an "athletic anointing" (*On Psalm 5, Homily 6*, 10).[599] Pseudo-Dionysios further elaborates the same image. Christ is the first athlete, who wrestled with death and corruption, and won. He is also the leader and the judge of contests for the faithful. With the sacred athletic anointing, the new Christian is inducted into the assembly of the athletes of Christ, and is called, together with Him and imitating Him, to struggle and to be victorious (*Concerning Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.3.6).[600] Symeōn of Thessaloniki uses the same symbolism: "The whole body is anointed, for it is completely prepared for divine contests. For he did not come forward in order to be fainthearted, but in order that for him to imitate Christ, whom

595. "*Αἰθιοπικὴ Διάταξις.*"

596. G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904), 170, 174.

597. "Αἰγυπτιακὴ Λειτουργία."

598. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *On Colossians 6*, 4 (PG 62:342). In the translated text, the mistaken numbering of the homily as 6, 2 is corrected to 6, 4.

599. Asterios, *Homily 6*, 10, *On Psalm 5* in *Asterii sophistae. Commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt accedunt aliquot homiliae anonymae, Symbolae Osloenses*, ed. Marcel Richard, Fasc. Supplet. 16 (Oslo: A. W. Brøgger, 1956), 80.

600. PG 3:420d–421c.

he puts on, and both wrestles and fights bravely against the evil one. Those also who competed in the flesh were also long ago anointed with oil" (*Dialogue*, chapter 63).[601]

7) The Fathers see in the whole anointing of the body an action analogous to that of the "formation,"[602] namely, the creation of humanity, a "formation anew"[603] (Serapion, *Euchologion*, 15), through which the future Christian "is led to another creation" (Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *On Colossians 6*, 4),[604] "a renewal of soul and spirit"[605] (Prayer for the Oil).

8) Finally, the anointing with the oil of exorcism is compared to the anointing of "anointed ones of the Lord," the priests and the kings of the Old Testament (*Apostolic Constitutions* 3.16.3).[606] "We are anointed with the old oil that we may become anointed ones" (Theodōrētos of Cyrus [Pseudo-Justin], *Answers to the Orthodox concerning some necessary questions,* 137).[607] The anointing of the whole body of the anointed ones of the New Testament, in contrast with the anointing of only certain parts of the anointed ones of the Old Testament, represents the superiority of the first ones over the second: "They are not [anointed] just as the priests of old on the head alone, but rather much more. For the former was anointed on the head, the right ear, the hand...but the latter the whole body" (Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *On Colossians 6*, 4).[608] This is the sign of the Christians, of Christ's sheep, the soldiers of the king of the heavens, who bear the seal of the shepherd and of the king to whom they belong,

601. PG 155:228b.

602. "πλάσις." Another possible translation could be, "moulding."

603. "ἀνάπλασις." Although the term, "ἀναγέννησις" (regeneration) occurs in the prayer of the *Euchologion*, the word, "ἀνάπλασις," is not in the cited text of Serapion. See the text in Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis*, OCA 249 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995), 62.

604. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, On Colossians 6, 4 (PG 62:342). In the translated text, the mistaken numbering of the homily as 6, 2 is corrected to 6, 4.

605. "ἀνακαινισμὸ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος."

606. *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.16.3 in *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, ed. and trans. Marcel Metzger, SC 329 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), 156–157.

607. PG 6:1389d.

608. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *On Colossians 6*, 4 (PG 62:342). In the translated text, the mistaken numbering of the homily as 6, 2 is corrected to 6, 4.

and because of this their status, as "the Lord's anointed ones," they become familiars[609] of God and can see and behold "with an unveiled face" the glory of God (Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 13*, 17–18).[610] The interpretation that Nikolaos Kabasilas gives to the whole anointing is also similar. He considers it an element of consecration, a complete offering to God, a sharing of Christ's anointing, and a partaking in his kingdom: "For we mean the pillar of Jacob, which he offered to God after having anointed it with oil, and the kings and the priests who in the very same way were consecrated to God and to the state, who no longer live for themselves, but for God and for the commonwealth to which they were appointed. For we also renounced our own life and ourselves for God. This means throwing off the old form, to become like Him. And the symbol is proper and very befitting to the name of Christians. For we are anointed, and He whom we seek to be like, this is Christ, who has anointed humanity with divinity, since we also share His anointing with Him. For this anointing is also the sign of that anointing...calling us 'partners,' which through His love for humankind He makes sharers of the kingdom" (*Concerning the Life in Christ*, 2.27).[611]

This question gave the opportunity for us to write many things about the anointing with the oil of exorcism and its meaning. Perhaps more than what was necessary was given for the answer to the question that had been posed. However, this was not done without

609. The word "οἰκεῖοι" appears to be used as equivalent to the Syriac term "baytāyā." For a discussion of the translation of this word in Theodōros of Mopsuestia's works and its implication of an intimate relation with God, see Michel Dujarier, *L'Église est "Fraternité en Christ,"* vol. 2 of *Église-Fratnerité: L'ecclésiologie du Christ-Frère aux huit premiers siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2016).

610. Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 13*, 17–18 in *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ed. and trans. Raymond M. Tonneau and Robert Devresse, Studi e Testi 145 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 396–399.

611. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Concerning the Life in Christ*, 2.27–28 in *Nicolas Cabasilas, La Vie en Christ*, trad. and ed. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Sources Chrétiennes 355 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 155–157. The misidentification of the text as 2.16 is corrected.

good reason. I have the impression that the anointing with the oil of exorcism is passing through a crisis in our days. The symbolisms have fallen into disuse, and the sense is created for us that we are preserving a somewhat anachronistic form more or less without a particular meaning, which certainly creates things in the service of baptism that could be limited or moderated with a simplified anointing. Instances are not lacking where the full anointing is almost barely done. More as result of intuition, our people retained the importance that this practice had in the past, since the common phrase "I anoint with oil"[612] is used as a synonym for "I baptize" or "I stand as a sponsor during baptism."

The preservation of the sacred forms presupposes their theological interpretation, which the clergy must know in order for them to able to also teach the people. Otherwise, they are at risk for their meaning to be lost and perish. The study of the Fathers and of the Church's liturgical texts offer us what we desperately need; the knowledge of the theological meaning that the sacred symbols and the liturgical forms conceal. For this reason, we did not wish to be sparing in the citation of their testimonies. They often constitute for us all a revelation and make up a source of treasure for catechetical material that can be used in the mystagogic instruction of the faithful.

354

When must the newly illumined commune, immediately after baptism or in a subsequent Liturgy? Some implement the first, others the second. Which one is the most correct?

The only correct one is the first. The newly illumined must commune of the undefiled Mysteries immediately after baptism, just as the original practice of the Church requires and as it is imposed by

612. "ἀλείφω μὲ λάδι." Phountoulēs is referring to cultural practices, particularly the sense of honor or of importance of being the one who applied oil during baptism. In contemporary Greek culture, godparents will often take pride in the accomplishments of their godchildren by reminding others that they "put the oil on him/her" or that the oil that was placed "became well-rooted or bore fruit."

the theological relationship of the three mysteries of Christian initiation, baptism – chrismation – Holy Eucharist.

Witnesses regarding the connection of baptism with the Divine Liturgy almost go back to the apostolic age. Saint Justin (middle of the second century AD) first attests that immediately after baptism the newly illumined was led "to those who are called brethren... where they are gathered, earnestly offering common prayers for themselves, the newly illumined, and all others everywhere" in order for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist and the communion of the newly illumined and all the faithful to immediately follow (*First Apology*, 65).[613] The descriptions provided to us by the various old liturgical/canonical works (*Canons of Hippolytus*, *Apostolic Tradition*, *Egyptian Church Order*, *Testament of the Lord*, and so forth),[614] the catechist Fathers and ecclesiastical writers (Kyrillos of Jerusalem, Theodōros of Mopsuestia, Chrysostomos, Ambrose), and Fathers in their homilies on holy baptism or in their other references to it, inseparably associate its celebration with the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. Immediately after their baptism in the baptistery, the newly illumined entered the temple, the appropriate readings for the occasion were read, and the offering of the gifts, the consecration, and holy communion took place.

And the current service of holy baptism, as it is printed in our Euchologia, also presupposes the simultaneous celebration of all three mysteries. "Blessed is the kingdom..." is the usual enarxis of the Divine Liturgy. The litany of peace is mixed of Liturgy and bap-

613. Justin Martyr, *Apology on Behalf of Christians* 65.1 in *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr*, ed. and trans. Denis Minns and Paul Parvis, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 252–253. Translation modified from Thomas Falls, trans., *Saint Justin Martyr, The first Apology, The second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, The Monarchy, or The Rule of God*, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 6 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948), 104.

614. See the summary of the dates, origins, and relationships between these Church Orders in Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 76. Bradshaw discusses each Church Order individually.

tism. Instead of the antiphons, the consecration of the water, the baptism, and the chrismation follow. The small entrance is identical with the entrance of the clergy and newly illumined into the temple during the chanting of "Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven..."[615] or the biblical hymn instead of the trisagion being chanted, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...."[616] The readings, the ektenēs, the Cherubic hymn, and the rest of the Divine Liturgy followed. The old manuscripts characteristically note that after the baptism and the entrance: "he also completes the [entire] Divine Liturgy in order."

The connection of baptism with the Divine Liturgy is most characteristic on the preeminent day for baptism, Great Saturday, as well as the vigil of Theophany. During the former, with the beginning of the readings, the patriarch, bishop, or the priest went to the baptistery and baptized the catechumens. The readings are numerous precisely to provide the possibility for covering the entire time required to perform the baptism. When the clergy returned with the newly illumined, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ..." was chanted in order for the service of the Liturgy to be continued. The same thing also took place during the vigil of Theophany. The blessing of the water for holy baptism, the Great Hagiasmos, was celebrated between Matins and Liturgy in order for the catechumens to be baptized and afterwards to participate in the Divine Liturgy and communion. Amazingly beautiful are the descriptions of the various sources and liturgical Typika that refer to the manner of entrance for the white robed newly illumined with their bright candles in hand, to the joyful chanting, to the kisses, and the brotherly expressions of the faithful who welcomed them in the temple both to the common eucharistic assembly and to the participation of the newly illumined in the Mysteries, who for the first time offered and for the first time partook, and of the old faithful, who, as a token of

615. "Μακάριοι, ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι..."
616. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε..."

honor, relinquished to them their first place in the temple near the altar, along with precedence[617] in approaching holy communion.

Throughout Renewal Week, the Divine Liturgy was celebrated on a daily basis and the newly illumined, always wearing their white baptismal chitōns, together with the other faithful participated in the Divine Liturgy and partook of undefiled Mysteries, as the sixty-sixth canon of the Penthektē Ecumenical Council prescribes: "From the holy day of the Resurrection of Christ our God until New Sunday, for the entire week, it is necessary for the faithful to frequent the holy churches without exception, with psalms and hymns and spiritual odes, rejoicing in Christ and celebrating, and paying heed to the reading of holy Scripture and delighting in the holy Mysteries."[618] Thus, gradually and incrementally, from the catecheses and the exorcisms, the renunciation, the joining, and the confession of faith, the baptism and the chrismation, the newly illumined arrived at their complete incorporation into the body of the Church through their participation in the Divine Liturgy, the offering of gifts, and the kiss of love, in order to bring to completion their union in the Body of Christ with their first and afterwards intensive communion of the undefiled Mysteries.

The close association of the three mysteries of Christian initiation also appears in the diaconal petitions and the prayers of holy baptism and particularly in the "Prayer of holy myron," which also constitutes their critical connection: "Blessed are you, O Lord..., who grants to us unworthy ones, the blessed purification in life-bearing chrismation; who is also now pleased to regenerate your servant the newly illumined by water and the Spirit....grant to him/her also the seal of the gift of your holy and almighty and worshipped Spirit, and the partaking of the holy Body and precious Blood of your Christ...."

617. "τὸ προβάδισμα." The old faithful had the prerogative of receiving the Holy Eucharist first.

618. Rhallēs and Potlēs, 2:460. Translation adapted from George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone, eds., *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, Kanonica 6 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientalis, 1995), 148–149.

This ideal practice passed through a point of crisis that left serious marks on the harmonious and unbroken union of the mysteries of Christian initiation. A basic cause certainly was the general degradation of ecclesiastical life after the era of great zenith, which had direct consequences on liturgical taxis. Namely, that which Symeōn of Thessaloniki mournfully stated occurred, "the excellent things now were past" and he attributed it to the envy of the devil and the lack of zeal of Christians "concerning good and divine things" (*Concerning Divine Preaching,* 5).[619]

Infant baptism contributed to the separation of holy baptism from the Divine Liturgy. The fear for the death of infants, at a time when infant mortality was high, brought about the acceleration of their baptism in order that they not die "unilluminated."[620] This resulted in the individualization of baptism and the abandonment of the old festive group baptisms during the great feasts. Finally, the dangers of war and barbarian invasions and conquests delivered the final blow. Despite this, for quite a long time, the tradition was quite resilient. It retained if not the Liturgy, at least, the communion of the newly illumined from the Presanctified Holy Elements. In many manuscripts, holy baptism is stereotypically concluded with the rubric: "And they commune him [the newly illumined] from the undefiled Mysteries." Certainly, according to the *Codex Kōnstamonitou 60 (63)* from the sixteenth century, communion did not pass by scarcely unnoticed, but was integrated into a form, we may say, of the Presanctified, which with an analogous taxis resembles to some degree the service of marriage. The "Explanation for communing the child" is inserted immediately after chrismation and is framed with the chanting of the baptismal hymn, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...." We include it below while filling in (within parentheses) several phrases that have obviously fallen out. "He enters the church with the baby, they kiss the holy icons, while chanting 'As many of you that have been baptized into

619. Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Ἐπιστολὴ πεμφθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον πρωτοπαπᾶν τῆς περὶ τὸν Χάνδακα Ἐκκλησίας· Περὶ θείου κηρύγματος* in Ἰωάννης Φουντούλης, *Λειτουργικὰ Θέματα* (Thessaloniki: n.p., 1977), 3:62.

620. "ἀφώτιστα." In this context, the word means "unbaptized."

Christ.' The priest says, 'Make us also worthy, O Master....' [The people, 'Our Father.' The priest, 'For yours is the kingdom.' The people, 'Amen.' The priest, 'Let us attend. The Holy Things for the holy']. The people, 'One is holy....' Koinōnikon, 'I will take the cup of salvation....' And the baby partakes." "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ..." follows repeated three times and the prayer "You who have bestowed deliverance from sins...,"[621] nearly as a prayer behind the ambōn.

Symeōn of Thessaloniki knows the separation of baptism from the Liturgy. However, he also attests regarding immediate communion after baptism, which is given to the newly illumined by the hierarch himself, while the chanting of "Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven"[622] and the rest of the psalm is repeated after "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ..." (*Dialogue*, chapter 67).[623] Nikolaos Kabasilas (+1395) older by a few decades than Symeōn (+1429) does not appear to imply a celebration of the Divine Liturgy after the baptism, but particularly insists on the completion of the initiation of the one baptized and his/her perfection through attendance at holy communion (*Concerning the Life in Christ*, 4).[624]

It appears that not distributing holy communion immediately after baptism started during the years of the Tourkokratia,[625] when especially difficult conditions in Christian life permitted the celebration of holy baptism in homes. In any case, Blessed Nikodēmos of the Holy Mountain condemns the celebration of baptism outside of the temple and insists on not only the communion of the newly illumined immediately after baptism but also somewhat anachronistically on the incorporation of baptism into the Divine Liturgy ac-

621. "Ὁ λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν..."

622. "Μακάριοι, ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι..."

623. PG 155:232c–233b.

624. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Concerning the Life in Christ*, 4.25–35 in *Nicolas Cabasilas, La Vie en Christ*, trad. and ed. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Sources Chrétiennes 355 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 286–297.

625. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

cording to the old taxis: "There is also a third reason for which baptism must be done in churches and not in oratory houses, because the priest must first perform the proskomidē, then when after being vested with all the priestly vestments, must go out and baptize the child, and after the baptism, begin the Divine Liturgy and, at the end of it, commune the baptized baby. Because just as nature prepared milk for the baby as a bodily nourishment immediately when it was born bodily, in like manner grace also prepares holy communion for spiritual nourishment immediately when he was spiritually born through baptism" (*The Rudder*, footnote on the thirty-first canon of the Sixth Council).[626] The opinion of Blessed Nikodēmos is characteristic of the authentically Orthodox way of viewing the unity of baptism and Eucharist. For various practical reasons, the West separated baptism from chrismation and from holy communion. The Orthodox Church remained steadfast on the requirement, at all costs, for retention of the traditional and theological unity of the mysteries of Christian initiation. The believer is baptized and chrismated to partake of the mystical table of the family of the Lord in order that he/she is united with Him with His communion. Symeōn of Thessaloniki characteristically underscores this truth: "For this is the completion of every mystery, in order that being released from the deception and the pollution of sin, after both having become pure and sealed by Christ in the Holy Spirit we will partake of the flesh and blood of Christ and be utterly united with Him. For this is what is also said by the prophet, 'I will dwell in them and walk among them'[627] and which He Himself prayed to the Father, saying, 'that they may be one just as we are one'[628] and 'behold I am with you always.'[629] Since until then, He will also be with us invisibly through the mysteries..." (*Dialogue*, chapter 68).[630] Nikolaos Kabasilas also places emphasis on holy communion and very correctly

626. Ἀγάπιος ἱερομόναχος (Λεονάρδος) καὶ Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς μιᾶς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1982), 247, n. 2.

627. 2 Cor 6:16, compare Lev 26:11–12.

628. John 17:11.

629. Matt 28:20.

630. PG 155:233b–233c.

considers it as a purpose for the performance of baptism and as a completion of the believer: "After the myron, we are at the table, this is the fulfillment of life, to those who have attained it nothing will be lacking for the happiness sought. For it is no longer death, burial, and participation in a better life that we obtain from it, but the Risen One Himself; nor is it the gifts of the Spirit, so many as it is possible to receive, but the Benefactor Himself, the temple itself, upon which the whole circle of graces is founded. For He is at each mystery and with Himself we are both chrismated and bathed...But whenever He leads the initiate to the table and gives him the Body to eat, He entirely changes him into His own transposed state, and the clay is no longer clay, having received the form of the King; but he himself is already the body of the King; nothing can be considered more blessed than this. On this account also the mystery is last because it is not possible for it to go before or after; for it is clear the first [namely, baptism] needs the middle one and this [of Chrismation] needs the last. After the Eucharist, there is nothing for which we make room but while standing here there is a need to attempt to contemplate those things through which one might preserve the treasure through to the end" (*Concerning the Life in Christ*, 4.1–2).[631]

While summarizing the above, we conclude that after baptism the newly illumined must necessarily partake of the undefiled Mysteries, according to the taxis that is always maintained, which is consistent with the pertinent theological teaching of the Church. Regarding the baptism of adults, there is no justification permitting its celebration outside its traditional framework, namely, the Divine Liturgy. As for the baptism of infants, only reasons of oikonomia could justify its separation from the Divine Liturgy until a way of return to the precise practice may be found. In the transitional period, which someday must definitely pass, the intermediate practice

631. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Concerning the Life in Christ*, 4.1–2 in *Nicolas Cabasilas, La Vie en Christ*, trad. and ed. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Sources Chrétiennes 355 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 262–265. Translation modified from Carmino J. de Catanzaro, trans., *Nicholas Cabasilas, The Life in Christ* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), 113–114.

of communing the newly illumined from the Presanctified Holy Elements immediately after baptism necessarily applies.

355

Before the Ninth Ode, are both a synaptē and "The Theotokos and mother of the light let us magnify honoring in hymns"[632] said, or only the latter?

According to the taxis of the monastic Typikon for the service of Matins, which also applies to our parish temples, synaptes are said during the chanting of the canons only after the third, the sixth, and the ninth odes, ("from the third," "from the sixth," or "from the ninth," as the Typika record). This is done because the nine (or the eight) odes of the Psalter, whose stichēra are the troparia of the odes of the canons, are divided, according to the model of the kathismata of the Psalter, into three staseis of three odes, each of which as we see is printed at the end of the Psalter: first, (second), third / fourth, fifth, sixth / seventh, eighth, and ninth odes. Only during the Sunday of Pascha, according to the model of the antiphons for the Matins of the "asmatic" Typikon, does a synaptē, and an exclamation, precede each ode (the great for the first and the small for the remaining odes). The same taxis applies by extension also during Renewal Week and, naturally, during the Wednesday before Ascension, namely, the day of leavetaking for Pascha. At that time, although it is not expressly provided for by the Pentēkostarion, after the synaptē and the exclamation that precedes the ninth Ode ("For blessed is your name…"),[633] "The Theotokos and mother of the light let us magnify honoring in hymns" is also said.

In all the other instances of the ninth ode, the diaconal exhortation "The Theotokos and the mother of the light…" alone precedes, which is an old "asmatic" ephymnion for this ode that preceded its chanting, just as "Glory be to You who showed the light…"[634] of the doxology, and which was chanted after each of its verses, instead of

632. "Τὴν Θεοτόκον καὶ μητέρα τοῦ φωτὸς ἐν ὕμνοις τιμῶντες μεγαλύνωμεν."
633. "Ὅτι ηὐλόγηταί σου τὸ ὄνομα…"
634. "Δόξα σοι τῷ δείξαντι τὸ φῶς…"

the later heirmos, "More honorable than the Cherubim...,"[635] which is chanted nowadays. Initially, as it is attested to by the ancient manuscripts, this ephymnion was shorter, "The Theotokos let us magnify in hymns,"[636] and was inspired by the opening word of the Ode of the Theotokos: "Μεγαλύνει/Magnifies [my soul the Lord]...."[637] The phrase "and the mother of the light"[638] is a later addition, which is obviously intended to join the chanting of the Ode of the Theotokos to the theme of the last part of the service of the Matins, namely, the coming of the light.[639] The word "honoring"[640] is probably an explanatory augmentation.

Symeōn of Thessaloniki attests to the insertion of "The Theotokos..." before the ninth ode: "After the eighth [ode] at the beginning of the ninth, he [the deacon or priest] magnifies the one above all the saints, the Theotokos, in whom God truly performed sublime and wondrous things, such as becoming incarnate of her..." (*Dialogue*, chapter 312).[641]

The impression that before the ninth ode a synaptē precedes came either from the taxis of Matins for Pascha, to which we referred above, or from the later accommodation that took place in the parishes after the transfer of the eōthinon gospel reading of Sunday Matins and the elements that follow it (namely, Psalm 50 and the special diaconal "prayer" or synaptē, "Save, O God, your people...,"[642]) after the katabasies, more precisely after the eighth ode of the katabasies and before the ninth ode. Thus, "The Theotokos..." comes immediately after the exclamation "By the mercy and compassion...,"[643] without any organic relationship certainly

635. "Τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν Χερουβίμ..."
636. "Τὴν Θεοτόκον ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνωμεν."
637. "Μεγαλύνει [ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν Κύριον...]," which is normally translated, "My soul magnifies the Lord...."
638. "καὶ μητέρα τοῦ φωτὸς."
639. In monasteries, candles and tapers in the narthēx are not lit during Matins until this point. Pilgrims who light them earlier are often told to extinguish them until the proper time.
640. "τιμῶντες."
641. PG 155:571b.
642. "Σῶσον ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαόν σου..."
643. "Ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς..."

existing with the synaptē nor with its exclamation. In all the other instances—except Pascha—the regular taxis applies, to which we referred at the beginning of the answer.

356

Can the Presanctified be celebrated on Friday evening, or not? If it can, then which service must come first, the Presanctified or the Salutations?

The first part of the question is revealing of a drama, I would say a liturgical distortion, which underlies our worship and came to be considered a natural situation and normal taxis. Thus, taking wrong for right, and oikonomia for strictness, we ask ourselves whether strictness is permitted or not. Namely, in the case of the Presanctified, instead of us asking whether its celebration is permitted in the morning, we conversely ask whether its celebration is permitted in the evening.

We should recall certain well-known facts and note certain self-evident things. The Presanctified is a service for evening communion. It was associated with the service of Vespers, precisely because Vespers is the evening prayer of the Church. It was quite natural for evening communion to follow the evening prayer synaxis. The reason is well known why the faithful commune during the fasting days of Great Lent during the evening and not the morning; except for Saturday and Sunday, the weekdays of Lent are days of strict fasting. Fasting precedes holy communion and is broken after it—and the xerophagy of fasting days is a breaking of the Fast.[644] After communion, the Bridegroom has entered the soul, and the "sons of the Bridegroom," biblically speaking, cannot fast any longer (Mark 2:19). Consequently, they will fast and mourn during the day, and commune in the evening, so that they may partake afterward in the fasting food. Certainly, the two central and most venerable days of the week, Wednesday and Friday, both throughout the whole year and especially during Great Lent,

644. Phountoulēs is referring to the eating of dry foods, for example, nuts, bread, and uncooked vegetables. See question 46 for a discussion of this fasting.

were days of the strictest fasting and attendance for holy communion. Therefore, while it is possible to conduct the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts throughout all the days of the Fast, according to the practice of the Church and the canons (Council of Laodicea, canon forty-nine), its celebration is seen as being essential on Wednesdays and Fridays, for the communion—obviously, in the evening—of the faithful. This is apparent both from the relevant rubrics in the Typika and from the taxis of Vespers for those days in the Triōdion, which does not have aposticha, precisely because there was no possibility for the Presanctified not to be celebrated. Thus, the fast of these two sacred days is broken with the culmination of the liturgical day in the communion service.

That the Presanctified was always performed "towards evening" is apparent from its theoretical presuppositions, which we saw above, and from the practice of the Church, which is so clear and well-attested that it would be naive for us to attempt to prove it. In other words, shall we show that Vespers is an evening prayer, and that, as an evening prayer, it takes place in the evening? Or shall we refer to the evidence of the ecclesiastical Typika for us to be convincing that it is strange, in the face of all logic, for the evening service to take place in the morning? Let us note this alone, in the fifty-fifth answer of Symeōn of Thessaloniki to Gabriēl of Pentapolis: "Around the ninth hour, we celebrate this rite [namely, of the Presanctified], while maintaining the rule of the fast, it having been decreed to eat only once towards evening, and we are sanctified by the prayers, and by the sight of the eyes together with the mind when beholding the Lord himself being held by the priest, being set forth for our atonement, and distributed to those worthy of His communion."[645]

Now in the answer to question 195, we spoke regarding how during more recent times, we arrived at the well-known transfer of the evening services of Great Lent to the morning. Particularly regarding the Presanctified, the subject is much more serious than it

645. PG 155:904b.

appears at first glance, because we not only have the absurdity of the evening service that takes place in the morning, but also the requirement of evening communion, which does not take place at the end but at the beginning of the fasting day. Certainly, the attempt to make it easier for the faithful, either as to the time for prayer or attendance for communion, contributed to the transfer of the service. But neither the one nor the other has been achieved. Proof of this is the fact that the Presanctified either is celebrated in the presence of the fewest faithful—the others are at work—or even not celebrated at all. Conversely, its celebration during Wednesday evenings, which began to spread more in our days, also began to attract more people, because the time of its celebration is opportune, and attendance for holy communion is large. This is the solution to which we must arrive as soon as possible. The Presanctified is a vital element of our divine worship. For it to endure and to fulfill its wonderful purpose in the sacramental life of the Church, it must flee from its death grip of decay, and return to its original traditional place within the natural framework of the services of Great Lent. In this way, the forgotten Old Testament can also return to our preaching, since the readings of the Presanctified are from the Old Testament, and the participation of the faithful in the mystery of the Holy Eucharist may be rekindled with an appropriate effort, consistent with the intention of the Church, which the structure of the Presanctified excellently expresses.

The restoration of the Presanctified to its proper time is liable to present certain difficulties nowadays, certainly after a relatively long period of its transfer to the morning. As is well known, long-term illnesses leave indelible marks. We also ascertained something similar about the services of Great Week in the answer to Question 186. And regarding the Presanctified of Wednesday, I do not think that there would be any serious obstacle, apart from the service of the Great Compline, which would necessarily be displaced due to a transfer of the Presanctified during this time. Great Compline can be said privately, "in the cells," as the ancient Typika prescribe in many instances, and just as it occurs daily with the Small Compline. Besides, the Great Compline will be performed on the other three days of the week.

The case of Friday is more difficult. As is well known, the service of the Salutations is chanted in its Compline, and that of the Akathist during the Fifth Week, which is so popular that no thought of its being pushed aside is possible. No problem formerly existed because the services of the Salutations are later and were obviously placed in this position after the transfer of the Presanctified to the morning, and the Akathist was chanted with the Matins of the Saturday of the Fifth Week, just as the Triōdion also provides for.

If we assume that the Presanctified is offered on Friday evening, the Salutations must follow, and this is for two reasons. First, because they are joined to the Compline and, as it is well known, Compline follows Vespers in the sequence of services for the daily cycle. Second, because even though the Vespers to which it is attached theoretically belongs to Saturday, the Presanctified is classified among the penitential services for Friday. Saturday has another theme. It is not a day of mourning and fasting, and for this reason is appropriate for the Liturgy,[646] and the penitential character of the weekdays of the Great Lent is removed, in a certain manner, from its Compline. Thus, the joyful service of the Mother of God, the Salutations, "fits" in it, rather like a forefeast or afterfeast elaboration on the theme of the feast of the Annunciation, which always falls

646. Namely, a complete Liturgy and not a Presanctified.

during Lent. Therefore, Vespers with the Presanctified must first be celebrated and afterwards the service of Compline with the canon and the Salutations.

However, this cannot take place for two reasons, one theoretical and one practical. The theoretical reason is that the Divine Liturgy and communion constitute the climax and end of a liturgical synaxis. It is not appropriate for other themes to be put forward after it. Certainly, we have some examples of services that are joined to the Divine Liturgy, always in a later era, such as the Vespers of Kneeling on Pentecost, and the Hagiasmos on Theophany. However, such unfortunate combinations must not be taken as standards. Moreover, an equally important practical reason also exists. By the combination of both services, a new evil will be caused in the place of the other one that we are attempting to avoid; a new long and unviable service, which will last about three hours. If we take under consideration that Fridays are workdays and that people come to the temple tired from their daily toil, it would be inhumane for us to expect that they remain three hours in it, and it would be naïve for us to believe that under such conditions they can pray and participate in what is being celebrated.

If we also add to this the matter of fasting—since the celebration of the evening Presanctified presupposes participation in the mystery—it would be entirely thoughtless for us to attempt to keep fasting people for so much more time in order that they also attend Salutations. Ultimately, after first impressions, Christians would avoid coming even to both services. Our aim must not simply be the formal preservation of the services, but their organic repositioning within the living framework of the liturgical life of the Church. Otherwise, it is preferable that the Presanctified remains "as we found it," namely, essentially on the margins of the liturgical life of the faithful.

For us to speak more practically, I think that, under the present circumstances, while the restoration of the Presanctified of Wednesday to its correct traditional place is imperative, it is more sensible for the Presanctified of Friday not to be transferred. The Salutations and the Akathist cover the evening synaxes for Fridays,

except for the Friday of the Sixth Week, regarding which there is no problem, and it can comfortably follow Wednesday's practice. Thus, during the weeks of Great Lent, two essential liturgical poles would be created, one eucharistic, with the evening Presanctified of Wednesday, and one of the Mother of God, with the service of Salutations of Friday.

357

Must the Liturgy of Great Saturday be done on the holy table, or in the middle of the temple on the epitaphios, namely, within the koubouklion of the epitaphios, as I saw take place somewhere?

The writer has also attended a Great Saturday Liturgy celebrated years ago in a temple of Athens by a priest, later a bishop—he has "fallen asleep" years ago—and acknowledges that it was something beautiful and very impressive. Now, whether it is correct to be done, the answer cannot be other than negative, as we will see below. Unfortunately, not everything beautiful is also correct. And, certainly, in our case this concerns something entirely unacceptable to liturgical taxis, not simply because it is not attested to by tradition, but because it is based on a complete misunderstanding of both the purpose for the koubouklion of the epitaphios as well as the meaning of the services of Great Saturday.

Let us take a look at the koubouklion. This is something very recent. On the Holy Mountain, in the Slavic churches, and even in many places in our country,[647] it is entirely unknown. During the aposticha of the Vespers of Great Friday, the epitaphios is placed in the middle of the temple, on a large stand/table, and is decorated there with flowers by women after the service. The beautiful, carved wood koubouklia hearken back to the last centuries of the Tourkokratia,[648] and basically imitate the koubouklion of the All-

647. Greece.

648. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

holy Sepulchre, or the ciborium of the holy table.[649] This change of form has popular origins and is owed to some pious misunderstanding of what precisely is the koubouklion. Is it the tomb of Christ? Certainly not. It is the place for the laying out of his dead body, his deathbed we would say, or the stone upon which, according to tradition, the body of Christ was placed after the unnailing for it to be anointed with myrrh by Joseph and Nikodēmos before its burial, the well-known "stone of the unnailing."[650] The old practice, which we mentioned above, was more consistent with historical accuracy and with symbolism. If the place for the deposition of the epitaphios is the "stone of the unnailing,"[651] it should not need to have a ciborium; and, if the flowers symbolize the spices of the ones preparing Christ's burial or the myrrhbearers, these were anointed on the body after the unnailing and not before (just as it appears to be done nowadays with the preadorned koubouklion). However, in any case, these are details that do not have a great liturgical significance. But the misunderstanding also had more liturgical repercussions, such as the sprinkling of the koubouklion with spices during "The myrrhbearers sprinkled myrrh on the tomb..."[652] the well-known encomium of the third stasis, which is customary nowadays, and a kind of a real burial of the epitaphios/icon, which some priests do, when covering it with many flowers and petals, as they actually bury Christ in the koubouklion during the aposticha of Great Friday. These are also of small significance. However, the celebration of the Divine Liturgy in the koubouklion would be the formalization of the misunderstanding.

Regarding the meaning of the services of Great Friday and Great Saturday, it should be emphasized that the procession of the epitaphios during the aposticha of the Vespers of Great Friday is not

649. A ciborium is a structure consisting of a dome supported by columns over the altar table.

650. "ὁ λίθος τῆς ἀποκαθηλώσεως." It is also otherwise known in English as, "the anointing stone."

651. Phountoulēs is making a parallel between the deposition or descent of Christ from the cross and the liturgical actions concerning the epitaphios.

652. "Ἔῤῥαναν τὸν τάφον..."

the reenactment of the burial, but of the unnailing of Christ. The unnailing nowadays graphically takes place with the more recent configuration for the cross of Great Friday, from which the icon of the Crucified One[653] can be detached. Thus, we have a duplication. During the aposticha, the icon of the dead Christ (namely, the epitaphios) is brought out and placed in the middle of the temple on a stand or in a koubouklion, not for it to "be buried," but for it to "receive" the veneration of the faithful, we would say, funeral arrangements and honors. Again, the "funeral" service of Christ is nothing other than the Matins of Great Saturday, namely, the lamentation upon the grave. The common funeral service is also this Matins service, and Christ—Himself dead also as a human being—"is buried" like a man after the end of His funeral service, namely, during the chanted trisagion that completes the doxology. In the answer to question 227, we wrote regarding the historical development of these services. All these services have assumed a strong popular color in imitation of what takes place during the funeral services for the faithful. The procession of the epitaphios—itself also a modern custom, which originally was simply a singular entrance with the Gospel book—is nothing other than the carrying out of the dead Christ. His "burial" takes place after the procession (where else than to the most sacred part of the temple) to the holy table, which all along symbolized the tomb of Christ. There, His symbol, the Gospel book, is placed, together with the later representation of the dead Christ (epitaphios) during the words, "laid for burial,"[654] in the troparion "The noble Joseph,"[655] and the reading of the pericope of the gospel follows, which refers to the sealing of the tomb.

It is entirely inconsistent and at variance with the spirit, the symbolism, and the liturgical aim of all these iconic representations, for Christ's funeral service and His carrying out to take place, and for Him not to be "buried" but to be set out again at the place of the un-

653. "The Crucified One" (ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος) refers to an icon carved out in the form of the crucified body of the Lord, which is separate from and normally attached to a large processional cross.

654. "κηδεύσας ἀπέθετο."

655. "Ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ..."

nailing—because this is precisely what must be done, if the Liturgy of Great Saturday was celebrated in the koubouklion.

The only correct taxis is that which all the Typika, and the practice of the Church from the beginning up until nowadays, provide for. The Liturgy of Great Saturday Vespers is celebrated on the holy table, the tomb of Christ.

358

During "Today is hung on a tree . . ."[656] of the service of the Holy Passions, does the procession of the Crucified One take place while the Crucified One is nailed to the cross, or apart and the crucifixion done in the middle of the temple?[657]

As we wrote in the past, the Crucified One took the form it has nowadays at a very late time.[658] It is still unknown on the Holy Mountain, in the Slavic churches, and in remote villages of our country.[659] Instead of the Crucified One, the icon of the Crucifixion or a cross is carried in procession, upon which is painted an icon of the body of Christ, or, painted separately, but fastened to the cross in such a way that it is not able to be separated from it.

Likewise, also, the service of the unnailing that takes place nowadays during the gospel reading of the Vespers of Great Friday is very modern. According to the older practice, at this time, the icon of the Crucifixion or the cross was either removed or covered just as we described it above.[660]

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656. "Σήμερον κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου..."

657. "The Crucified One" (ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος) refers to an icon carved out in the form of the crucified body of the Lord, which is separate from and normally attached to a large processional cross. The question is whether the procession begins with the icon attached or whether the attachment takes place after the procession in the middle of the temple.

658. See question 27.

659. Greece.

660. Phountoulēs states in the answer to question 27:

> This service of the unnailing was unknown to the rest of the Orthodox Church. During 'Today is hung on a tree...,' the icon of the Crucifixion was carried in procession and placed in the proskynētarion, but during the aposticha of Vespers the entrance of the epitaphios took place and its placement into the koubouklion or on a simple

However, even if this was about innovative elements, both the procession of the Crucified One during "Today is hung on a tree..." as well as the reenactment of the unnailing are very impressive and stir and move the people to compunction. The crucifixion perhaps also would prove equally popular and cause stirrings and compunction in the congregation. But let us leave matters as they are in order that the sacred service not lose its solemnity. It has enough popular elements. More will destroy it. In the end, we will lose control of matters, with the danger that the services of Great Week will be transformed into a sacred theatrical performance. Excesses must be avoided.

359

There exists a tradition, which is observed in certain places, for the service of Hagiasmos not to be celebrated on the first of September and on the first of January, days during which its celebration is especially required. Does this tradition have a basis anywhere, or is it unworthy of attention?

It appears that this is quite an old tradition. The first testimony that we have comes from the work *Peri offikialiōn* of Pseudo-Kōdinos, which dates from the fourteenth century: "One should know that an Hagiasmos is performed in the palace at the beginning of each month, except for September and January. In these months, the Hagiasmos takes place on the fourteenth in the former case and on the sixth in the latter case" (chapter 4).[661] This information is important

table occurred, without the unnailing taking place before. This is precisely observed today on the Holy Mountain and in the Slavic Orthodox churches... However, in some places, this practice [the service of the unnailing] has still not become prevalent and an unnailing does not occur, but during the reading of the gospel, or immediately after, the cross together with the crucified Christ is covered and taken back into the holy bēma, when it is directly painted on the cross or its detachment is not possible from it.

661. Pseudo-Kōdinos, *De Officiis* 4. Translation modified from R. Macrides and J.A. Munitz, D. Angelov, eds. and trans., *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 191.

because it not only refers to the practice of the sacred palace of Constantinople but echoes the widely held custom that certainly would also not have been anything new. Its celebration during the feast of the Exaltation of the Precious Cross on the fourteenth of September, and the feast of Theophany on the sixth of January, during which the Great Hagiasmos is celebrated, is brought forward as a reason for not celebrating the Hagiasmos on these days. Namely, we have a transfer of the Hagiasmos from the first of the month to another day, precisely to emphasize the particular importance of the Hagiasmos that is celebrated during these feasts.

And regarding the Hagiasmos of Theophany, there does not exist a particular problem. Its celebration during the feast of Theophany in remembrance of the Baptism of the Lord is a most ancient custom. Its importance is so great that the Hagiasmos is rightly not celebrated on the first of January in anticipation of the Great Hagiasmos. As far as I know, Hagiasmos is not celebrated anywhere on the first of January, and nor do there exist witnesses that it was ever celebrated.

However, regarding the first of September, matters are quite different. The Exaltation of the Precious Cross is celebrated on the fourteenth of September. During the rite of the Exaltation in certain places even nowadays, by five immersions of the cross during its five elevations, water is blessed with which the faithful are sprinkled when they venerate the cross, and they draw and use it just as also the water of Hagiasmoi for drinking, the sanctification of homes, and so forth. Sanctifications of water of such a type without a special service and a prayer of sanctification are not unknown in our liturgical tradition. They are termed a "baptism"[662] or "anointing"[663] of

Contrary to the critical edition, Phountoulēs cited chapter 14. This has been corrected in the text above. The critical edition of the text has the "fifth" and not the "sixth" of January. In referencing the "sixth" of January, Phountoulēs may be referring to the feast of Theophany in general and, specifically, to the Vespers that was celebrated on the eve. For another translation based on the critical edition, see also Jean Verpeaux, ed. and trans., *Pseudo-Kodinos Traité des Offices, Introduction, Text, et Traduction* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1966), 240.

662. "βάπτισις."

663. "ἀπομυρισμός."

the Precious Cross or of the Precious Woods. This practice is better understood if we take into consideration that during the Exaltation, a cross was used that contained Precious Wood, if of course any was available. According to the Typikon of Saint Sophia in Thessaloniki, which Symeōn (d. 1429) the archbishop of Thessaloniki compiled, after the rite of the Exaltation, which, as is well known, took place on the ambōn, the hierarch sanctified a font of water with an immersion of the precious cross into it, and sprinkled the people from the ambōn. However, at the same time, we have testimony from the same Typikon that during the procession for the beginning of the Indiction on the first of September, an Hagiasmos was celebrated. Also, a later Typikon from the Monastery of Koutloumousiou (codex 510) attests that an Hagiasmos took place on the first of September "for the beginning of the year." Contrariwise, the Typikon of Saint Sophia of Constantinople from the tenth century (*Codices Timiou Staurou 40* and *Patmos 266*), and other ancient Typika, do not provide for the celebration of the Hagiasmos during the service for the Indiction.[664] Therefore, it appears that on the first of September the sanctification of water was done in some places and not in others, according to local customs, perhaps because the celebration of the Hagiasmos during the feast of the Exaltation was not a custom they commonly held, as also nowadays.

The conclusion, I think, can be commensurate with what the older practice teaches us. For an Hagiasmos to not take place on the first of January in honor of the sanctification of the waters during Theophany. But also, for local custom to be applied on the first of September, which is probably determined by the celebration or not of the Hagiasmos during the Exaltation. Namely, if the Hagiasmos is celebrated at that time, it is good for it not to be done on the first of September in order for the Hagiasmos of the Exaltation to be emphasized; if not, let it be done.

664. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 1:2–3.

360

During baptism, some priests exclaim "Let us pray to the Lord. For you, our God, are holy . . ."[665] before "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ . . . ."[666] Is this correct?

In the answer to question 354, there was mention regarding the connection of baptism and Divine Liturgy. There we wrote that the chanting of "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ…" is a remnant of the ancient practice, according to which baptism and the Divine Liturgy were inseparably linked. "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ…" is the hymn chanted in place of the trisagion during the baptismal Liturgy, as takes place up until nowadays on Great Saturday and during other feasts of the Lord. Many ancient manuscripts containing the service of holy baptism stop the service at this point and characteristically note that the Divine Liturgy will be celebrated thereafter. "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ…," the readings, and the ektenēs that are encountered in later manuscripts and in our contemporary printed editions are the remnants of this connection, namely, the special baptismal elements of the Divine Liturgy that was celebrated immediately after baptism and in connection with it.

However, the Divine Liturgy was and is, according to Symeōn of Thessaloniki, "the end of every rite and the seal of every divine mystery, the sacred communion" (*Dialogue*, chapters 282 and 68).[667] Thus, not only holy baptism, but also the other mysteries and sacred rites were celebrated or are even still celebrated combined with the Divine Liturgy, such as ordinations, consecrations of temples, marriage, unction, the funeral service, monastic tonsure, sanctification of holy myron, and even the service of the Small Hagiasmos. The transition point from any performance of these services to the celebration of the Divine Liturgy is the chanting of the trisagion hymn or the biblical verse chanted instead of it, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ…." The trisagion was, for many centuries,

665. "Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὅτι ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν……"
666. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε…"
667. PG 155:512d, 233b.

a type of entrance hymn for the Divine Liturgy, a character which it still retains in part also nowadays. In later practice, we have a nearly general tendency for an unbinding of the celebration of the mysteries from the Divine Liturgy for many and different reasons. Nowadays, as is well known, only ordinations, the sanctification of myron, and the consecrations of temples continue to be inseparably joined to it, namely, those performed rarely and, certainly, only by a hierarch. Hierarchical practice was always more conservative and precise. In the other instances, traces of the old connection were preserved in our contemporary practice and in printed liturgical books. Thus, leaving aside baptism, we have the readings of the Divine Liturgy, the ektenēs, the "Our Father," and the koinōnikon in marriage; the readings and the ektenēs in unction; the synaptē of the trisagion and the trisagion (instead of this, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...") in monastic tonsure; and the trisagion, the readings, the ektenēs, and so forth in the Hagiasmos. In manuscripts that preserve the older practice for us, apart from explicit witnesses for the continuation of the Divine Liturgy after the service of the mystery, we also have other remnants of the Divine Liturgy in various services, such as exclamations, synaptes, prayers of inclination, the trisagion, and so forth.

In the Divine Liturgy, the trisagion is introduced with the well-known prayer "O Holy God, who is resting among the holy ones...,"[668] which concludes with the exclamation "For you, our God, are holy...."[669] Formerly, up until the tenth century, the prayer of the trisagion was preceded by "the synaptē of the trisagion"[670] or "the petition of the trisagion,"[671] namely, the litany of peace, which had not yet been transferred to the beginning of the Liturgy, namely, before the antiphons, or, in an interim period, it was said two times, both at the beginning as a synaptē before the antiphons, and before the trisagion. When its transfer to the beginning prevailed, the

668. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος..."
669. "Ὅτι ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν..."
670. "ἡ συναπτὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου."
671. "ἡ αἴτησις τοῦ τρισαγίου."

synaptē of the trisagion was reduced to the diaconal petition "Let us pray to the Lord"[672] and, in order for its omission to apparently be declared, at the end of the exclamation, "For you, our God, are holy...," the deacon also again interrupted with, "and to the ages of ages,"[673] in order that he might in some manner confirm the abridgment that took place, and to give the signal to the choir for a beginning of the chanting of the trisagion.

Therefore, during the joining of baptism or other services to the Divine Liturgy, it must be understood that the prayer of the trisagion hymn was also said and, naturally, also its exclamation, "For you, our God, are holy...," as well as, formerly, the synaptē of the trisagion or, in later times, its abridgment ("Let us pray to the Lord"). Certainly, in some codices, it is expressly noted that "a synaptē takes place" or "the prayer of the trisagion," and next the trisagion is chanted. In contemporary practice, and in the editions that reflect it and presuppose the celebration of the mysteries and other services separate from the Divine Liturgy, a uniform taxis is not always maintained as to the form the service will take after its unbinding from the Divine Liturgy. Depending on the era in which its unbinding occurred, or depending on the local tradition they represent, we sometimes have one set of elements, and, at other times, yet others. Generally, the prayer of the trisagion is omitted. However, its synaptē, indeed in its entirety, according to the more ancient taxis, has been preserved in the service of the Great Monastic Schēma, which, certainly, since it is not conducted often, retains a more archaic form. Thus, in the Euchologion, the litany of peace of the Divine Liturgy is placed after the tonsure, in which particular petitions are inserted for the one who received the Angelic Schēma. The litany of peace is concluded with the exclamation of the prayer of the trisagion, "For you, our God, are holy...," and the chanting of "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ..." follows, instead of the trisagion. Since the taxis of the monastic tonsure imitates the taxis of the service of holy baptism (a "second baptism"), we could assume that something proportionate in holy baptism must have formerly taken place.

672. "Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν."
673. "καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων."

In the Small Hagiasmos, the exclamation, "For you, our God, are holy . . .," was preserved with the remnant of the synaptē ("Let us pray to the Lord"), as well as the trisagion. In marriage and unction, the readings have been preserved, but not also the trisagion hymn, nor even the exclamation and its synaptē. In holy baptism, the hymn chanted instead of the trisagion, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...," was preserved, but not the synaptē of the trisagion, or even the exclamation of its prayer. However, in places, as the question reveals to us, oral tradition preserved the exclamation, "For you, our God, are holy...."

This retrospection was done, on the one hand, so that the reason for the matter is shown, and, on the other, for it to be understood that the question is not solved with a "yes" or with a "no." The standard is the celebration of holy baptism together with the Divine Liturgy, so the abridgment of the synaptē of the trisagion is said ("Let us pray to the Lord"), as well as the prayer of the trisagion ("O Holy God..."), its exclamation ("For you, our God, are holy..."), and, naturally, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...." However, since we must compromise with the modern practice prevailing by oikonomia, namely, the celebration of holy baptism separately from the Divine Liturgy, we lose the consistent traditional criterion, and every solution cannot but have elements of arbitrariness. The multiple solutions that are present not only in the manuscripts but also in the printed editions, indicate this, and all of them pursue the anointment of normalcy. According to the same criteria, the omission of the trisagion (marriage, unction), and the omission of the exclamation, "For you, our God, are holy..." (baptism) and its preservation (Hagiasmos), and the preservation of the synaptē of the trisagion (monastic tonsure) or of its abridgment (Hagiasmos), are normal. The only consistent thing in all these instances is that the prayer of the trisagion is omitted. The more natural thing since the prayer is omitted, would be for its exclamation—which is nothing other than the intoned conclusion of the prayer—to also be omitted. Nevertheless, exclamations without prayers have been admitted into our worship in instances analogous to the present one. The most

characteristic examples are the exclamation "For you are a merciful God who loves humankind..."[674] from the prayer of the ektenēs, which is encountered as stray in many services (namely, without its prayer "Lord, our God, accept this fervent supplication..."[675]), many exclamations of Vespers and Matins, and, indeed, the exclamation of the marriage service, "And grant us, Master...,"[676] which introduces the "Our Father." This last exclamation is the conclusion of the prayer before the "Our Father" of the Divine Liturgy ("We entrust to you..."[677] of the Liturgy of Chrysostomos, and "Our God, the God who saves..."[678] of the Liturgy of Basileios the Great); here, since marriage was detached from the Divine Liturgy, the prayer is omitted, but the exclamation is retained.

Nothing remains but for us to see what is more correct precisely in the case that is set forth by the question. At first glance, the answer must be that, so long as the abridgment of the synaptē of the trisagion and its exclamation are not contained in the Euchologia ("Let us pray to the Lord." "For you, our God, are holy . . ."), they also must not be said. Thus, however, we simplify things to an unacceptable degree. I will personally permit myself to hold a different opinion. Consistent with the parallel of "And grant us, Master..."[679] of the marriage service and, indeed, consistent with the precisely similar instance of the insertion of the trisagion during the Small Hagiasmos, and everything we saw above, I think that the local tradition that preserves the "Let us pray to the Lord. For you, our God, are holy..." before "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ" in holy baptism, is relatively more correct than what the printed editions reflect.

I hold the opinion that a practical reason also makes a case for this. The strong command "Let us pray to the Lord" and the festive exclamation "For you, our God, are holy..." contribute to the peo-

674. "Ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος..."
675. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενῆ ταύτην ἱκεσίαν..."
676. "Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα..."
677. "Σοὶ παρακατατιθέμεθα..."
678. "Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τοῦ σώζειν..."
679. "Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα..."

ple's attention being gathered, which is split due to the dressing of the baby and other intervening actions. Thus, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...." is not introduced abruptly and without warning, but more naturally. All these things with the reservation that they are irregular solutions, from which we are seeking the least irregular and the more appropriate for the most decent conducting of the truncated service.

361

Does the Great Hagiasmos of the feast of Lights take place with the priest facing towards the people, as in marriage, or towards the sanctuary, as in baptism?

Clear rubrics that prescribe the stance of the priest, as well as the precise place in which the Hagiasmos is celebrated, do not exist. In the ancient era, and even nowadays in many places, the sanctification was done at the font which was in the middle of the courtyard of the church[680] ("in the inner court of the church")[681] or, according to the rubrics of ancient Typika, when it was "winter," namely, when unfavorable weather conditions prevailed, in the narthēx or on the ambōn, which were inside of the temple. Formerly, it was celebrated in the baptistery.

I think that it is correct for the place of the priest to also be dependent on the place where the Hagiasmos will be celebrated. Namely, if the Hagiasmos is celebrated outside at the font or in the middle of the temple (in the place of the ancient ambōn), the priest will look towards the east, since the people will be found around him, and thus, effectively, he will be turned towards the people, or towards part of the people. This also takes place in baptism, unction, artoklasia, and so forth. If again the Hagiasmos is celebrated, as it is customary in some places, on the solea in front of the beautiful gate, the more correct place of the priest is, I think, to be facing towards the west, namely, towards the people. For the same reason, the kneeling prayers during the Vespers of Pentecost

680. "στὴν μέση τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας."
681. "ἐν τῷ μεσιαύλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας."

and the prayers of marriage are said in this way, because formerly the newlyweds stood in front of the beautiful gate. The rule that ecclesiastical practice teaches us is for the priest not to be isolated from the people while turning his back to them and blocking the view of what is being performed. Certainly, matters are otherwise during the celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, but this is not the present topic.

362

During the celebration of holy baptism, some priests are accustomed to entering the holy bēma during the "Dynamis" of "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ . . . ,"[682] to read the Gospel book from the solea, and to do the dismissal from there. Others do not move away from the baptismal font but complete the mystery there. Which is the more correct?

The second is more customary, but the first is more correct.

From what we wrote in previous answers, it became clear that whatever is contained in our contemporary service of holy baptism from "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ…" and following are the remnants of the Divine Liturgy, which remained after its separation from holy baptism. According to the precise ancient taxis after baptism, which took place in a baptistery, the newly illumined entered in a procession into the nave, to take part together with the old faithful in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, and to commune of the undefiled Mysteries. This is already testified to from the second century after Christ, by Saint Justin the philosopher and martyr: "After thus baptizing[683] the one who has believed and given assent, we lead him to those who are called brethren, where they are gathered, offering common prayers," and the description of the celebration of the Divine Liturgy and communion follows (*First Apology*, 65).[684] The same taxis is also attested to by all the other

682. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε…"

683. "λοῦσαι," (Lampe, s.v. "λούω").

684. Justin Martyr, *Apology on Behalf of Christians* 65.1 in *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr*, ed. and trans. Denis Minns and Paul Parvis, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 252–253. Translation

ancient sources, the old manuscripts that contain the service of holy baptism united with the Divine Liturgy, and the taxis of holy baptism and the Divine Liturgy during Great Saturday, the preeminent baptismal day. The Divine Liturgy was celebrated, as always, in the altar.

After the separation of baptism from the Divine Liturgy, baptism still took place in the baptistery, or in the part of the temple where the permanent or portable baptismal font was located or placed. During the chanting of "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...," the three revolutions around the font took place, and again in a procession they went to the sanctuary for the readings and for the communion of the newly illumined. This is attested to by many codices: "The priest then makes an entrance circling with the sponsor and the newly illumined while chanting with the people 'As many of you that have been baptized into Christ....' And they do this three times. Then the priest takes the child, brings it in front of the altar, and makes a form of a cross with it" (*Codex Athens 665*). "And he goes into the middle of the temple with the sponsor and the child while chanting 'As many of you' three times... and imparts the holy Mysteries to it" (*Athens S. 64*). "And he enters with the newly illumined before the doors of the holy bēma, while the priest chants 'As many of you' with the people and cycles him around with the sponsor three times." (*M. Lavras Θ 88*). According to the oldest rubrics, the entrance of the newly illumined was done in the bēma: "Next, in this way, the priest begins 'As many of you' and enters the holy bēma with the newly illumined and offers a prayer" (*Sinai 961*). And Symeōn of Thessaloniki, in the description of the service of holy baptism, which in his era was separated from the Divine Liturgy, again makes mention of the movement from the baptismal font to the altar during the chanting of "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ" and of "Blessed are those

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modified from Thomas Falls, trans., *Saint Justin Martyr, The first Apology, The second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, The Monarchy, or The Rule of God*, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 6 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948), 104.

whose transgressions were forgiven..."[685]: "And while doing a circular dance, as one joined in dance by and rejoicing with the angels, he circles the baptismal font three times, rejoicing over the spiritual mother and over the one who has been born by the Divine Spirit out of her. And he sings, 'As many of you that have been baptized into Christ...,' with those chanting. Next when the chanters say, 'Blessed are those whose transgressions were forgiven' and the rest of the psalm, while going before the one baptized, he brings him before the altar, and there imparts the awe-inspiring communion to him" (*Dialogue*, chapter 67).[686]

From these witnesses it appears more correct during "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ..." after the revolution three times around the baptismal font, for a movement to the holy bēma to take place. From there, for the readings to be said, the baby to commune, and the dismissal to be done. It appears that this practice fell into disuse during the era of the Tourkokratia[687] when baptism was usually performed in the homes of Christians. Certainly, at that time there did not exist another way than for the readings to be said near the baptismal font, since neither the altar existed, nor was a Liturgy done, nor did the baby immediately commune. With the return, by God's grace, to better conditions for the celebration of the mysteries of our Church, the return to the more correct and precise practice that had been neglected during those difficult times is also required.

685. "Μακάριοι, ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι..."

686. PG 155:233a–233b. The term "spiritual mother" (τῇ πνευματικῇ μητρί) is an allegorical reference to the baptismal font (τὴν κολυμβήθραν), which is also a feminine noun in Greek. See also question 420.

687. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

363

During the forty-day blessing of the baby, if it is male, from which gate is it brought into the sanctuary? From the south gate, or from the beautiful gate? The Euchologia do not make it clear, and everyone does as they please.[688]

Not even in the manuscripts do such detailed rubrics exist, that would allow someone to be able to speak with precision regarding which is the more correct. The practice was quite fluid, as it appears from the various witnesses of the codices, which also do not agree as to which babies are brought into the bēma. According to some, only the males; according to others, only those baptized, irrespective of gender, male and female, with the difference that females reverenced only from three sides of the holy table, and not from the front of it, while the males also did so from the four sides.

From which gate ought they be brought into the bēma? I suppose that the most correct is from the south, and, after the reverence, that they exited from the north. This is also because the entrance and the exit from the beautiful gate is always reserved for the serving priest, and indeed only at certain moments of divine worship, which are clearly provided for by the ecclesiastical taxis, namely, entrances and so forth. And in every other instance, the clergy enter the bēma from the south gate and exit from the north gate of the sanctuary. What takes place nowadays in a disorderly fashion for priests and deacons—celebrants or not—to come and go from the beautiful gate is improper and contrary to the precise taxis of the Church.

Precisely the rubric for female infants, that they do not reverence from the front side of the holy table ("they do not pass to the front side"),[689] which we deliberately referenced above, can indirectly assist us in drawing the conclusion that the entrance of children into the bēma did not take place from the "front side," namely, from the beautiful gate. Otherwise, if they entered from there, it technically would be impossible for them to not pass by the "front side" as the rubric requires.

688. See also questions 85 and 379–381.

689. "εἰς μὲν τὸ ἔμπροσθεν οὐκ ἄπεισι μέρος."

364

Can holy baptism be performed in the sea? If it was done, is it valid and why?

During the apostolic and post-apostolic era, baptism took place "in living water" (*Didachē of the Twelve Apostles, 7*)[690] or, indiscriminately "where there is water" (Justin, *First Apology,* 61).[691] It is beyond any doubt that, in seaside regions, it took place in the sea. In the Pseudo-Clementine writings—an apocryphal work of the fourth century attributed to Clement of Rome—the apostle Peter is presented as baptizing a woman "on the beach . . . between some rocks" in a place "calm and clear" (*Homily 14*.1, *Epitome,* 110).[692] To this day, on Patmos, they point out the "baptistery," a place by the sea where, according to tradition, John the Theologian baptized the inhabitants of Patmos who believed in Christ. The *Canons of Hippolytus* make mention of a baptism that takes place in water "rising in waves . . . of the sea, clean,"[693] and Tertullian again also

690. *Didachē of the Twelve Apostles* 7.1 in *La doctrine des douze apôtres,* trans. and ed. Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, SC 248 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1978), 170.

691. Justin Martyr, *Apology on Behalf of Christians* 61.3 in *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr,* ed. and trans. Denis Minns and Paul Parvis, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 238–239.

692. Pseudo-Clement, *Homily 14*.1 in *Die Pseudoklementinen 1*: Homilien, ed. Bernhard Rehm and Georg Strecker, 3rd ed., GCS 42 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 204. Pseudo-Clement, *Epitome Prior Martyrium Clementis,* 110 in *Die Pseudoklementinen IV: Die Klemens-Biographie,* ed. Franz Risch, GCS, n.s.,16 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 93.

693. Based on the reference made in questions 379–381, Phountoulēs most likely is referencing the Latin translation of canon 19, "Circa gallicinium autem consistant proper fluctuantem aquam maris puram, paratam, sacram," Hans Achelis, ed. and trans., *Die Canones Hippolyti,* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur 6.4 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1891), 19.112. The later critical edition is René-Georges Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte, Édition Critique de la Version Arabe, Introduction et Traduction Française, Patrologia Orientalis* 31.2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cle, Éditeurs, 1966), where the French translation of the same passage reads, "Qu'ils veillent toute leur nuit dans la parole sainte et les prières. Qu'on les place au chant du coq près de l'eau, l'eau d'un bassin, courante et pure, préparée et sanctifiée," (111, 379). The *Canons of Hippolytus* is a collection of thirty canons only surviving in an Arabic translation from a lost Coptic version, ultimately based on a lost Greek original. Recent scholarship views the Canons as an early

includes the sea among the places where holy baptism is performed (*Concerning Baptism*, 4).[694]

With the development of Christian worship, special baptisteries were built near Christian basilicas, where catechumens were baptized. Successors of the baptisteries are the current permanent or more customary, portable baptismal fonts of our temples, which presuppose the complete prevalence of infant baptism. By exception, however, baptism was also performed in the sea, as we can conclude from the testimony of Didymos the Blind, according to which "baptism takes place indiscriminately in all water, and in the sea, when need compels" (*Concerning the Holy Trinity*, 2.14).[695]

And nowadays, certainly, the baptism of babies normally takes place in the temple and in the special baptismal fonts. However, the baptism of adults normally must also be performed in the temple and in a baptistery that would ensure the full triple immersion and emersion of the one being baptized. If an appropriate baptistery does not exist, it is preferable that it would take place in a river, in a cistern, or in the sea. Years ago, the opportunity was given to the writer to attend the celebration of an adult's baptism, in the harbor[696] (port) of a monastery of Mount Athos. The baptism took place in the sea. From the quay of the port, the priest read the prayers for the sanctification of the water, poured the oil of exorcism into it, and the catechumen was immersed three times. The Divine Liturgy followed in the chapel of the harbor. The Holy Mountain is the acropolis

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fourth century work produced in Egypt by a presbyter. It is also thought to be an early derivative of the *Apostolic Tradition* also attributed to Hippolytus (c. 170 – c. 235) the bishop of Rome. The work is not part of the formal corpus of the canons received by the Orthodox Church. This discussion is based on David Bradshaw, ed., and Carol Bebawi, trans., *The Canons of Hippolytus*, Gorgias Liturgical Studies 7 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 22, where the same passage is translated, "They are to spend their night in the sacred word and prayers. One is to position them at cockcrow near the water, water from a river, running and pure, prepared and sanctified."

694. Tertullian, Concerning Baptism, 4 in *Tertullien, Traité du Baptême*, ed. R. F. Refoulé and trans. M. Drouzy, SC 35 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1952), 70.

695. PG 39:693a. Phountoulēs did not provide the book number in his reference, which is provided above.

696. "ὁ ἀρσανᾶς."

of Orthodoxy and of ritual precision. This example could be imitated in all such similar instances and in all coastal places, which, glory to God, abound in our land,[697] instead of them performing the baptism of adults in barrels and inappropriate vessels. We spoke regarding this in another answer.[698]

The tradition of the early church, which continues up until nowadays, is clear. It is inconceivable to raise a question of validity for baptism in the sea.

365

Is "Now let your servant depart . . ."[699] at the end of Vespers said by the priest facing towards the people or the holy table?

Since the Vespers that is performed nowadays in our parishes is the monastic Vespers, we must refer to the monastic practice in order for us to know what is precise.

In monasteries, "Now let your servant depart..." as well as the introductory psalm and "Vouchsafe, O Lord, this evening..."[700] in Vespers, and the Six Psalms and "It is good to acknowledge the Lord..."[701] in Matins, are not said by the priest, but by the abbot, the presider, or, when he is absent, by the first in rank of the choir. It is said from the place at which his stasidion[702] is found, without turning towards the east or moving from it in any manner.

In both recent and in earlier answers, we saw that the transfer of the monastic practice to the parishes resulted in causing certain

697. Greece.

698. See question 255.

699. "Νῦν ἀπολύεις..."

700. "Καταξίωσον, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ ταύτῃ..."

701. "Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ..." (Psalm 91:2).

702. "στασίδιον, τό (pl., στασίδια, τά)." Here, the term "stasidion" (pl., stasidia) refers to a seat in a monastic chapel or church. In question 557, Phountoulēs states regarding their construction in modern monasteries, "For the synaxes, the worshipers invented stasidia, which, when properly constructed, such as for example on the Holy Mountain, are a marvel of knowledge of the human body's anatomy. They enable propping up the one praying when he stands upright, supporting him in a half-seated posture, and relaxing him when he is seated." Such seats are also designed to allow the worshipper when seated to rest his or her head on the arm rest.

changes and disparities, mainly in limiting the length of the services for their adaptation to the timeframes available in parishes, but also in simplification and modification, which sometimes originated from the ignorance of the precise monastic taxis and lack of liturgical experience on the part of the priests and chanters of the parishes. In addition, one reason, which generates quite a lot of confusion, is that the liturgical books, especially the Hōrologion and Triōdion, precisely reflect the prevailing practice of the monasteries without formalizing the parish changes. Thus, for example, we saw in the answer to question 302, that they preserve the term "presider,"[703] which is purely monastic, and whatever the abbot would say in the monasteries is provided for also to be said in the parishes.

"Now let your servant depart..." is also found in the same entanglement. An abbot/presider does not exist in parishes to say it. If a hierarch presides outside the bēma, naturally the latter would say it.[704] But if the priest conducts the service by himself, which is the norm in parish practice, what will happen? The reader or a member of the choir says the introductory psalm and "Vouchsafe, O Lord, this evening...," as well as the Six Psalms in Matins. It became prevalent for the priest to say, "Now let your servant depart," as well as "It is good to acknowledge the Lord." I hold the opinion that they are wrongly said by the priest. Both are elements belonging to the choir. Proof of this is that neither "Now let your servant depart" nor "It is good to acknowledge the Lord..." exist in reliable printed editions of the Hieratikon. Certainly, in the edition of the Hieratikon of Apostolikē Diakonia of 1977, both exist, and, indeed, it is recorded that they are said by the priest. Let it be permitted for me to write that this rubric is not correct. Those who are older perhaps remember that both were always said by the choir in the parishes, just as also the introductory psalm, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, this evening...," and the Six Psalms. And indeed, according to the more ancient practice,

703. "προεστώς."

704. The verb, "χοροστατέω," literally means, "I lead the choir," but will be translated here as "I preside outside the bēma" when referring to the bishop presiding on his throne next to the choir as opposed to actually officiating or serving the Divine Liturgy from the holy sanctuary. See questions 243–248.

they were melodically recited by the two choirs antiphonally. This habit for them to be said by the priest is very recent and applies only in the Church of Greece.[705]

But also, the nature itself of "Now let your servant depart..." (and of "It is good to acknowledge the Lord...") is such that it does not justify its recitation by the priest. It is not a prayer or exhortation for a prayer/petition, but a biblical verse that precedes the trisagion. We also have precisely such verses in the services of the Hours as well before the trisagion, which are called by the manuscripts "prokeimena" of the Hours: "Direct my steps..."[706] (First Hour), "Blessed is the Lord God..."[707] (Third), "Let your mercies quickly overtake us..."[708] (Sixth), and "For your name's sake, do not hand us over..."[709] (Ninth). No one correctly doubts that these prokeimena are said by the reader. Indeed, in the prokeimenon of the First Hour, the ancient manner of its antiphonal chanting was preserved during Great Lent.

The question towards which side the priest will be turning during the recitation of "Now let your servant depart..." is consequently nonexistent, since, according to the proper taxis, it is not said by the priest.

366

Can the distribution of Holy Communion take place before the consecration of the precious gifts?

The letter from the reverend presbyter refers to a specific incident, which occurred in a certain city during a great feast. The same one was an eyewitness. According to what he wrote, holy communion was distributed to the people by the deacon from the north gate of the sanctuary, after the great entrance and prior to the consecration

705. It can be speculated that illiteracy during the years of the Tourkokratia may have contributed to priests reading whatever chanters could not commit to memory.

706. "Τὰ διαβήματά μου..."

707. "Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς εὐλογητός..."

708. "Ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν..."

709. "Μὴ δὴ παραδώης..."

of the precious gifts. It is entirely impossible for me to believe it, because if matters are as such, this constitutes charlatanism[710] and a mockery of the mysteries of God and of His people. I believe that such unconscionable celebrants of the Lord's altar do not exist.

I assume that something else happened. Namely, either that they used the Presanctified Precious Gifts from the reserve of the artophorion, or from the Liturgy of Saturday (the incident happened on the feast of the Transfiguration, a Sunday), or the distribution of holy communion began after the consecration of the precious gifts, even before the prayer of the anaphora was completed. Both are irregular and reprehensible. The fact that old-time priests became habituated to such unacceptable solutions does not justify matters. Those who are older remember that during the great feasts when there was a massive attendance of the faithful at the undefiled Mysteries, the priests even administered communion prior to the Divine Liturgy, or also during it from Presanctified Gifts or from the Precious Gifts of the Divine Liturgy being celebrated after their consecration and prior to "With the fear of God...." It is certainly not right for us to condemn those simpleminded men, to whom we owe the preservation of our faith and of our divine worship in dark and difficult years. But, then again, neither must we imitate and continue whatever the latter irregularly did out of ignorance but with a good intention.

Certainly, group attendance of the people at holy communion during the great feasts makes for a serious problem. However, its solution must not be any other than that which the proper taxis of the Church requires. Holy communion constitutes a central point of the celebration of the Divine Liturgy; it is its purpose. Its place is designated by ecclesiastical good order, after the consecration of the precious gifts and after the preparation prayers and entreaties for holy communion (the prayer prior to "Our Father," the Lord's Prayer, the prayer of inclination, and "Hearken, O Lord..."[711]). Then the celebrants rightfully and as a token of honor commune first and,

710. "ἀγυρτεία."
711. "Πρόσχες Κύριε..."

after the relevant invitation of the deacon, "With the fear of God, faith and love, draw near,"[712] the people. The faithful commune in an orderly manner and wait for both their brothers and sisters to commune for however much time is necessary for the approach of all to the mystery. Afterwards, clergy and the people all together "having partaken" of the Mysteries worthily give thanks to the giver of this utmost good. A transfer at any time of holy communion, before or after, constitutes a grave irregularity and an overturning of the sacred taxis, unjustified by the structure of the Divine Liturgy, history, and the theological meaning of liturgical practice. If the faithful are in a hurry, they can commune on Saturday or another day, or, let the Divine Liturgy be performed with a quicker and more traditional pace, and not with an oriental languidness,[713] as is often customary during the great feasts in cities, to ostensibly appear festive. Otherwise, under normal conditions, a minimal amount of time elapses between the consecration of the precious gifts and the communion of the faithful. Therefore, speeding up the offering of holy communion is not justified, since the time that we save by destroying the taxis is insignificant.

I hold the opinion that our Christians are not so impious and undisciplined. Indeed, the fact that they approach for holy communion shows they maintain at the very least a traditional religiosity and piety. Liturgical education and spiritual direction and enlightenment is that which they often lack. This does not occur at the last minute with unfavorable circumstances or knee-jerk actions of the priest. When the priest continually explains the meaning of the Mysteries to the people with love and the fear of God and sets out for them the proper manner and time to approach them, very few will be found to be disorderly or to demand to commune ahead

712. "Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ, πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε."

713. "ἀνατολίτικη νωχέλεια." "Oriental languidness" refers to the distortion of chanting, colloquially known as "ἀμανέδες," which takes its name from the musical repetition and elongation of the word, "ἀμάν" in rembetika and other secular music of Asia Minor. In general, modern schools of Byzantine chant consider them inappropriate. The "oriental languidness" may be a historical result of the role untrained singers often took in performing both secular and ecclesiastical music and not discerning between their distinct forms.

of time. And those few will be embarrassed and will conform to the taxis that the many will respect and follow. However, in every instance, guardians of the sacred trust[714] for holy communion, and accountable for it, are the priests who received this at the time of their ordination. The violation of the liturgical taxis also weighs on them alone without any mitigating circumstance. An example is the case that the inquirer submits, which, in the form that the question takes, constitutes an insult against the Mysteries, but in the more lenient version, an obvious violation and circumvention of liturgical taxis and deontology.

Communion from the Presanctified Gifts is again not unknown in our liturgical tradition. We encounter it not only in the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts during Great Lent, but also in older practice in the mysteries of baptism and marriage when a complete Liturgy was not performed (even in the communion of the sick from the reserve, also in the early church for the hermits and even for lay-people, when they did not have the opportunity to participate in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy). However, in all these instances, we have an act of necessity that is required since, for theoretical or practical reasons, the performance of the sacrifice was not possible. Under normal circumstances, the use of the Presanctified Gifts or of the reserve is not justified. The believer participates in the mystery of the Holy Eucharist not only with the communion of the Mysteries, but also in its whole celebration; with the glorification of His name "in one mouth and one heart" together with all of the people of God, with the offering of common entreaties, with the hearing of the word of God, with the offering of His gifts to Him, with the confession of faith, with the kiss of love, and with the remembrance of the saving work of the Lord Jesus, of His mystical supper, of His Passion and Resurrection, of His sitting at the right hand, and of the pouring out of His Holy Spirit. All these are elements of his incor-

714. "τὴν παρακαταθήκην." The same word is contained in the prayer for priestly consecration, which states regarding this "trust" that the priest "will be held to account for at the second coming of our great Lord and Savior Jesus Christ," Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, 243.

poration with the Savior and his brethren, with the mystical body of the Church of Christ, which culminates, naturally, in participation in the communion of His Body and Blood. An offering of holy communion without participation in the celebration of the whole Holy Eucharist is a solution of necessity applied by oikonomia only in extraordinary circumstances.

367

What do we mean when we say in the Divine Liturgy after the trisagion hymn: – "Command, Master"[715] – "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord"[716] – "Bless, Master, the upper throne"[717] – "Blessed are you upon the throne of the glory of your kingdom, seated upon the Cherubim always, now and forever and to the ages of ages"[718]?

Some elements of our divine worship are true enigmas, whose solution is only possible with the study of their history and development. One characteristic example of such a kind of liturgical enigma is that to which the question refers.

Before we begin research into the history of this liturgical form, we must speak about certain general presuppositions that are necessary for understanding individual elements. First, the fact that pointless movements and words do not exist in divine worship. Each thing has a practical origin that justifies its existence. If this is not obvious in contemporary practice, it is due to some corruption that occurred during the centuries-old history of liturgical forms that resulted in the disappearance of their original practical purpose. Later liturgical practice does not discard these virtually "dead" elements—let us characterize them in this way—but preserves them, wrapped in a kind of liturgism as venerable remnants in some manner of the ancient practice. A handy example is the small entrance, which, while it has lost its original practical purpose (an entrance originally

715. "Κέλευσον, δέσποτα."
716. "Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου."
717. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὴν ἄνω καθέδραν."
718. "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ, πάντοτε· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων."

of the clergy and people into the temple, or, later, an entrance of the clergy into the altar), is preserved in its well-known form of a ceremonial procession, which, however, no longer serves any practical purpose.

Second, the fact that each liturgical practice is combined, on the one hand, with a certain exhortation by the deacon who performs the duties of a master of ceremonies, and, on the other, with a brief priestly phrase, which is usually a psalmic verse. The diaconal exhortation usually also prompts the action that the priest will do, even the verse that he will say, for example, in the proskomidē: "Lift up, master"[719] – "For his life is lifted up from the earth"[720]; "Sacrifice, master"[721] – "Sacrificed is the Lamb of God..."[722]; "Crucify, master"[723] – "When you were crucified, O Christ, the tyranny of the enemy was destroyed..."[724]; "Cover, master"[725] – "Your virtue has covered the heavens..."[726]; "Shelter, master"[727] – "Shelter us...."[728] Again the priestly phrase, the psalmic verse, refers to what is being done or to its meaning. The connection is often quite successful, at other times rather extraneous and superficial. What is said during the putting on of priestly vestments, the prothesis, and so forth can be cited as examples.

In the present case at issue, according to the contemporary taxis, we have an exhortation from the deacon, but quite vague, which seeks permission from the priest for some liturgical action to occur ("Command, master"). The priest moves towards the prothesis while saying the verse "Blessed is he who comes" (Psalm 117:26). The word "comes" is certainly the verse's point of contact with what is performed. The priest comes and, while coming, in a manner of speaking, remembers

719. "Ἔπαρον, δέσποτα."
720. "Ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς."
721. "Θῦσον, δέσποτα."
722. "Θύεται ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ..."
723. "Σταύρωσον, δέσποτα.:
724. "Σταυρωθέντος σου, Χριστέ, ἀνῃρέθη ἡ τυραννίς..."
725. "Κάλυψον, δέσποτα."
726. "Ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανούς..."
727. "Σκέπασον, δέσποτα."
728. "Σκέπασον ἡμᾶς..."

Christ "who comes," whom he also blesses (see Matthew 21:9ff).[729] The deacon continues: "Bless, master, the upper throne." And the priest responds while glorifying God the Father, or Christ, who is seated upon the throne of glory. This is certainly about a blessing of a "throne" (καθέδρας/θρόνου), as it becomes clear both from the deacon's exhortation ("the upper throne," τὴν ἄνω καθέδραν) and from the priest's verse ("seated upon the throne of glory," θρόνου δόξης... καθήμενος).

From these presuppositions that contemporary practice provides us, we look back to the manuscript tradition for us to see what further points it offers us. Regarding the first exhortation of the deacon and the response of the priest ("Command...," "Blessed is he who comes..."), the evidence is quite confusing. A kiss of the altar precedes which was not preserved in contemporary practice. A remnant of it is perhaps the "three reverences"[730] that are done by the celebrants during the triple recitation of the trisagion hymn. The diaconal "Command, master" is also encountered in another form, "Bless, master,"[731] which corresponds to the priest's answer, "Blessed is God..."[732] or "Blessed is the kingdom...,"[733] which, in certain manuscripts, is said instead of "Blessed is he who comes...." The first blessing in the former form ("Blessed/Εὐλογητός ..." or "Blessed/Εὐλογημένη ...") is encountered already from the tenth century and in the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* from the twelfth–thirteenth century (*Codex Athens 662*).[734]

The second blessing is introduced with the diaconal "Bless, master, the upper throne," which itself is also encountered in different variants in the manuscript tradition ("Bless, master, this

729. The priest is not literally blessing Christ but is uttering the words "Blessed is he who comes," in the sense of "may Christ be blessed." In addition, when saying, "Blessed is he who comes...," the priest is also referring to Christ's entrance into Jerusalem.

730. "τρία προσκυνήματα."

731. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα."

732. "Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός..."

733. "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία..."

734. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 2.

throne," or "the holy throne," or "the venerable and holy throne").[735] The blessing of the throne also itself varies. Apart from the form that became prevalent, "Blessed are you upon the throne of the glory of your kingdom, seated upon the Cherubim always...,"[736] other parallel ones are attested to: "Blessed are you upon the throne of the glory of your kingdom, always...,"[737] "Blessed are you upon the throne of the glory of your kingdom, who is worthy of supreme praise and supremely glorious,"[738] and the more simple, "Blessed are you who is seated upon the throne of glory unto the ages"[739] or "Blessed are you who is seated upon the throne of glory."[740] All are based on verse 32 of the prayer of the Three Youths (Ode 7–Daniel, chapter 3), in combination, according to the prevailing variant, with verse 31 of the same ode.

We come now to the standard rubrics of the manuscripts and the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy*, which clear up the meaning and the purpose of these two blessings. In the oldest surviving Byzantine Euchologion, the eighth-century *Codex Barberini 336*, the two blessings did not exist in this place, but a prayer is found there, concerning which we will speak below. For the time being, we are interested in its title: "Prayer of the throne of the altar."[741] The *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* from *Codex Athens 662* and the *Diataxis* of Patriarch Philotheos (*Codex Panteleëmonos 6277-770* from the fourteenth century)[742] and many later codices note that, after the diaconal "Command, master," "the priest arrives at the throne" or "after this, the two [priest and deacon] together arrive at the holy

735. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὴν καθέδραν ταύτην" or "τὴν ἁγίαν καθέδραν" or "τὴν σεβασμίαν καὶ ἁγίαν καθέδραν."

736. "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ, πάντοτε· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων."

737. "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου καθήμενος, πάντοτε· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ..."

738. "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου, ὁ ὑπερύμνητος καὶ ὑπερένδοξος..."

739. "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης ὁ καθήμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ..."

740. "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης..."

741. "Εὐχὴ καθέδρας τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου."

742. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*,7.

throne" or "and they arrive at the throne. While arriving, the priest says, 'Blessed is he who comes....'" The phrase "Blessed are you upon the throne..." is accompanied with an actual blessing of the throne, as it appears from the aforementioned *Diataxis* of the *Codex Athens 662*: "And, the deacon points to it [the holy throne] with the orarion, while saying, 'Bless....'[743]"[744] Namely, this concerns something analogous to the blessing of the entrance of the temple or the altar during the small entrance.

Still more enlightening is the standard rubric of the *Codex Athens 754* from the seventeenth century. This concerns the patriarchal liturgy. The patriarch says, "Blessed is he who comes..." "when he moves to arrive at the synthronon," and after "Blessed are you upon the throne...," "immediately the patriarch sits in the synthronon, the bishops and priests on each side of him." The Slavic Euchologia add, in the case of a priestly Liturgy, that "the priest is not allowed to stand or to sit upon the synthronon, but ought to stand and to sit on the side towards the south."

With this whole complex process, we arrived at the solution. We find ourselves before a remnant of a most ancient practice, namely, of the entrance of the celebrants into the altar and their ascent to the throne. The kissing of the holy table, as well as the offering of incense after the entrance, regarding which we spoke formerly, is precisely the greeting of the altar by the celebrant, which he now approaches for the first time. The movement of the celebrants takes place for the purpose of their transition to the throne/synthronon, which was at the back of the apse, behind the holy table, and is combined with the blessing of the central episcopal throne (the "upper" or "holy" throne), to which only the bishop of the local church ascends and sits. The priests sit alongside on special benches for them, whether they serve alone or concelebrate with the hierarch. From the synthronon, the first blessing/greeting was given to the people, regarding which the ancient sources speak to us, such as the sacred Chrysostomos ("When entering, not until the father first ascends

743. "Εὐλόγησον..."
744. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*,7.

upon this throne would he pray for peace for all of you," *Against the Jews 3. 6*),[745] the *Apostolic Constitutions* (2.57),[746] the liturgical commentary of Patriarch Germanos ("the hierarch ascends to the synthronon and seals the people"),[747] and so forth. The prayer of the "throne of the altar" from the *Codex Barberini 336*, concerning which mention was made above, precisely speaks about this blessing, "Peace to all,"[748] which was accompanied with a crosswise motion of the celebrant's hand: "Lord, Master, God of powers, save your people and grant them peace by the power of your Holy Spirit through the sign of the precious cross of your only-begotten Son, with whom...."[749] Indeed, in many ancient manuscripts, "Peace to all" is encountered here in connection with "Wisdom, let us attend" that precedes the prokeimenon of the epistle reading. The celebrant sat there in the synthronon during the readings and during the sermon.

What now happened that both the liturgical purpose was forgotten, and the character of these movements and blessings was altered? Many factors certainly contributed: the development of the beginning of the Liturgy with the addition of the antiphons resulted in the old entrance into the bēma falling into disuse, and for the liturgical forms that accompanied it to lose their original importance. The elevation of the templon decreased the significance of the sacred synthronon.[750] The reduction of the dimensions of temples and of the sacred bēma did not leave room for the throne and prevented

745. PG 48:870.

746. *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.57.4 (SC 320:312–313).

747. PG 98:409c.

748. "Εἰρήνη πᾶσι."

749. "Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εἰρήνευσον αὐτὸν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ τύπου τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ..." Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Euchologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 7.2, 26.2.

750. There are a number of scholarly studies dealing with the templon and the development of the iconostasis. See for example, Sharon E.J. Gerstel, ed., *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

the priests from sitting in their original place behind the holy table. Even the celebration of the Liturgy without the participation of a deacon became a cause for the priest to avoid sitting, since he would soon have to cense during the allēlouarion, indeed later during the epistle reading,[751] and to recite the gospel reading.

From there, a series of misunderstandings begins, which we see in contemporary practice, printed liturgical books, and even certain later manuscripts. Thus, other manuscripts and printed editions preserve the old rubric "they arrive [or he arrives] at the throne." Other manuscripts and printed editions leave to the discretion of the priest to choose between the throne or the prothesis ("and they arrive at the throne or at the prothesis"). Others entirely eliminate the throne ("they arrive at the holy prothesis"). Others even interpret that the proskomidē is a throne! ("next he comes to the throne, namely, to the proskomidē," *Codices Athens 751* and *860*). In the *Hierotelestikon* (Athens, 1948, p. 115) the practice is entirely distorted: "'Command, master.' And they arrive at the holy prothesis, the priest going first and the deacon next. The priest, turning and proceeding towards the holy prothesis says: 'Blessed is he who comes....' Next, both returning before the holy table, the deacon, pointing to the holy table with his right hand, says 'Bless, master, the upper throne.' The priest blesses, saying, 'Blessed are you upon the throne....'"[752] The prothesis here is no longer a throne, as according to the older misinterpretations. Nevertheless, the sacred walk towards it remains. However, the holy table becomes a throne, which, uniquely in the annals of liturgical history, is blessed by the priest! We find the final, let us hope, phase of this adventure in the 1977 edition of the Hieratikon (p. 112): The celebrants no longer go over to the synthronon nor to the prothesis, but the priest "turns" to it.[753] The priest blesses the "upper throne," namely, the holy table!

751. See question 286 regarding the censing during the reading of the Apostolos.

752. Χρυσόστομος Φιλίππων καὶ Νεαπόλεως, Ἱεροτελεστικόν (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1948), 115.

753. "αὐτήν" (singular feminine accusative), namely, the holy table.

I hold the opinion that this retrospection done into the Church's liturgical tradition is not only useful in illuminating certain murky elements of our worship and in satisfying our curiosity about what they mean, or what all these once meant, or even in removing certain misunderstandings or distortions of liturgical taxis; but it can help these liturgical forms recover their original and correct content and fulfill their original and genuine purpose.

In the present instance, it is not difficult for the correct taxis to be restored. The bēmata of our temples are spacious enough to either already have, or to be able to acquire "an upper throne" and "thrones"[754] for the celebrants in the space of the apse. The celebrants must move in that direction during "Command..." and remain and sit during the readings and the sermon, since they bless the "upper throne," the episcopal throne that is found at the back of the apse. This formerly took place, it takes place even nowadays in the Slavic churches, and liturgical taxis and decorum require it, just as it is described by the Church's tradition in this case.

368

In earlier answers (65 and 194), the celebration of the service of marriage in combination with the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts was mentioned. Some clarification is needed because readers are left with the impression that marriages are also performed during Great Lent.

Indeed, in the answers above, mention was parenthetically made regarding the celebration of marriage in combination with the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. However, it is well known that the Presanctified is the penitential "Liturgy of Great Lent," as it is designated in the manuscripts. Thus, not without cause, the impression remained, for those who paid attention to the matter, that marriages were also celebrated during Great Lent, or that this is a case of an inaccuracy. To remove any misunderstanding, it is necessary for us to return and thoroughly examine this subject,

754. "καθέδρες."

which, due to its nature, presents particular historical, theological, but also practical interest.

In earlier but also in recent answers, we saw that the mysteries of the Church and many sacred rites were performed in an inseparable union with the Divine Liturgy, not only during the period of zenith for the liturgical life of our Church, but also almost up until the Tourkokratia.[755] We particularly spoke regarding baptism, and, parenthetically, about ordinations, the consecration of the holy myron, the dedications of temples, monastic tonsure, unction, the funeral service, and the service of the Small Hagiasmos. The marriage service does not constitute an exception. It was celebrated joined with the Divine Liturgy, as it appears from the old manuscripts, but also from contemporary taxis, in which the traces of this connection are discernible: "Blessed is the kingdom...," litany of peace, readings, ektenēs, plērōtika/petitions, "And grant us, Master...,"[756] "Our Father," prayer of inclination, common cup, and koinōnikon. The chanting of the trisagion in its normal place is also provided for in the manuscripts. The professor Panagiōtēs Trempelas of blessed memory wrote a special study of this subject, "The Holy Eucharist during its joining together with other mysteries and sacramental rites" (Athens, 1958).[757] A restoration of the taxis for the Liturgy/marriage (pp. 113–115) was very laudably included in the recent edition of the Archieratikon by the Apostolikē Diakonia of the Church of Greece (1971) based on these traditional elements. Some saw it as an innovation, or even as a utopian combination. And in the past, the opportunity was given to us to speak regarding the reversal of terms that took place in many matters due to the liturgical decay that is underlying our worship. Thus, the standard and well-ordered is considered an innovation, and oikonomia as precision. However,

755. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

756. "Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα...

757. Παναγιώτης Τρεμπέλας, "Ἡ θεία εὐχαριστία κατὰ τὴν συνάρθρωσιν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα μυστήρια καὶ μυστηριοειδεῖς τελετάς," in *Εὐχαριστήριον· Τιμητικὸς τόμος ἐπὶ τῇ 45ετηρίδι τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς δράσεως καὶ τῇ 35ετηρίδι τακτικῆς καθηγεσίας Ἀμίλκα Σ. Ἀλιβιζάτου*, ed. Γεράσιμος Κονιδάρης (Ἀθῆναι: Ἔκδοσις τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1958), 462–472.

in every instance, a good start was made with the boldness required in these cases, and correct practice found resonance and imitators, even as an exception to the bad rule that had prevailed.

These points concern the combination of the celebration of marriage with the complete Divine Liturgy.

However, in a great many manuscripts, dating already from the eleventh century up until even the seventeenth, the marriage service is not interwoven with the complete Liturgy, but with the Presanctified. Indeed, this is not about the well-known Presanctified of Great Lent, but as is natural for something that has an entirely different character, the presuppositions from which it was created also must be just as entirely different. The overwhelming presence of this form of the coupling of marriage/Presanctified in the manuscripts from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, especially the period from the thirteenth up until the sixteenth century, shows how great was its diffusion, as for us to be able to characterize it with certainty as a prevailing form. I refer to some examples from well-known manuscripts that combine the celebration of marriage with the Presanctified: *Athens 661, 662, 663, 664, 670, 829, 851, 1910, 2725, S. 64, S. 696, S. 724; Vatopediou 133 (744), 322 (934); Cairo (Patriarchate of Alexandria) 207; Koutloumousiou 358; Kōnstamonitou 19 (20), 60 (63); Megistēs Lavras 189, Θ. 28, Λ. 105; Panteleēmonos 780; Patmos 104, 105, 715; Sinai 957, 958, 960, 962, 966, 968, 977, 984, 1036; Pan. Taphou (Kōnstantinoupoleōs) 8 (182), 134 (593), 615 (757)*, and others. Also, Symeōn of Thessaloniki gives us the same description (*Dialogue*, chapters 281–282).

As happens in all the services, the manuscripts rarely agree entirely. According to time and place, depending on the traditions that each of them represents, different variants exist. Below, we organized an outline of the marriage service in combination with the Presanctified, with certain explanations, based on all the evidence of tradition:

1) An entrance psalm, "Blessed are all who fear the Lord..."[758] (Psalm 127). The psalm is fitting for marriage, because it refers to the family, wife, and children of the pious man, whom it blesses and prays for him that he sees "sons of his sons." However, perhaps, it is not by chance that it comes from the odes of the anabathmoi (the "To the Lord"),[759] which are chanted with stichologia as a kathisma during the Presanctified. The entrance takes place in a procession from the narthēx into the nave, the persons about to be married stand before the beautiful gate ("before the altar"), and the priest, while wearing his entire priestly vestment, is at the doors of the bēma.

2) The crowns, "a chalice having the Presanctified Gifts," and a common cup of wine are laid on the holy table. If the persons about to be married are not fasting, or in general are not worthy for communing of the undefiled mysteries, or if it is not "a first, pure cohabitation"[760] (digamists), the Presanctified Gifts are not provided, but only the common cup. According to some manuscripts, if they are going to commune, the common cup is not provided; however, according to most of the manuscripts, both exist together. In any case, the manuscripts never busy themselves regarding how the preparation of the Presanctified Gifts took place. These things were well-known to the priests from daily practice.

According to the *Codex Megistēs Lavras Θ 88*, during the preceding Liturgy, "the Holy Bread was introduced into the holy chalice and covered [as] usual." According to the *Codex Athens 663*, it appears that only the necessary portion of the Holy Bread was kept and, instead of the chalice, the common cup was given, just as nearly in the Presanctified. Thus, the parallel placement of the common cup according to most of the codices is also explained. The first practice (the maintenance of both eucharistic species united in the holy chalice) appears more prevalent because a holy chalice with

758. "Μακάριοι πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Κύριον..."

759. The eighteenth kathisma (Psalms 119–133) is called the "To the Lord" ("τὰ Πρὸς Κύριον," or "τὰ προσκύρια," according to certain manuscripts) from the beginning phrase "To the Lord I cried when I was being afflicted..." ("Πρὸς Κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με ἐκέκραξα...") of Psalm 119.

760. "πρῶτον καθαρὸν συνοικέσιον."

holy communion is mentioned. In addition, it is not specified if the priest consumed the Holy Elements after the communion of the newlyweds. It appears more likely that he retained from holy communion only that which was required for the newlyweds' partaking, just as nowadays for the communion of the sick, and consequently it was not required for him to be fasting. These points certainly are hypothetical.

3) The service began with "Blessed is the kingdom..." and the usual litany of peace.

4) The prayer "Holy God, who fashioned humanity from dust..."[761] follows and the crowning. The two long prayers "O God the undefiled one..."[762] and "Blessed are you, O Lord our God, the celebrant of mystical..."[763] are later and do not belong, as we wrote earlier, to the Byzantine liturgical form of the marriage service.[764]

5) The readings follow, with their prokeimena and allēlouaria, the ektenēs with the prayer "O Lord our God, who in your saving economy...,"[765] and the plērōtika with the petitions ("An angel of peace,"[766] and so forth), just as almost in the Presanctified. Indeed, the Presanctified does not have epistle/gospel readings, unless there is a commemoration of a saint. Here, either this taxis (for commemoration of a saint) is followed, or another older taxis, which provided for the reading of the Apostolos and Gospel book in the Presanctified whenever it was celebrated outside of Lent during the Wednesdays and Fridays of the year (see Sōkratēs, *Ecclesiastical History* 5, 22).[767] For example, in the Typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople from the tenth century (*Codices T. Staurou 40 and Patmos 266*), a table of eight pairs of pericopes that have the Crucifixion as a subject[768] is attached "for the one who desires celebrating

761. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ πλάσας ἐκ χοὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον..."
762. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἄχραντος..."
763. "Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τοῦ μυστικοῦ..."
764. See question 280.
765. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῇ σωτηριώδει σου οἰκονομίᾳ..."
766. "Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης..."
767. PG 67:626b–645a. Sōkratēs Scholastikos (Σωκράτης ὁ Σχολαστικός) was the fifth century author of an ecclesiastical history.
768. "περικοπῶν σταυρωσίμων."

Liturgy on Wednesdays and Fridays, either a Presanctified one or a complete one."[769] The custom for celebration of a Presanctified on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year outside of Great Lent does not appear to have become prevalent everywhere and fell into disuse after the tenth century.

6) The "Our Father" is introduced with the exclamation "And grant us, Master...,"[770] as in the Divine Liturgy. "For yours is the kingdom..."[771] follows, as usual.

7) With "Peace to all. Let us bow our heads to the Lord," the prayer of inclination from the Liturgies ("We give thanks to you, invisible king..."[772] of Chrysostomos; "Lord Master, the Father of mercies and God of every consolation..."[773] of Basileios; "O God, the only one good..."[774] of the Presanctified) is introduced, which simultaneously are blessings and petitions for a worthy approach to the undefiled Mysteries. In marriage, this prayer is replaced either by the short prayer, "O Holy God and who loves humankind, who by your economy..."[775] (*Codices Athens 663* and *665*), in which there is also mention regarding communion of the holy Mysteries ("sanctify them and bless them in the partaking of your Holy Body"), or by the prayer of the blessing of the common cup, "O God, who created all things by your might...,"[776] just as also nowadays.

8) The prayer "Hearken, O Lord..."[777] follows, but not in all the codices (perhaps rightly, because it mentions the communion of the priest and all the people). "Let us attend. The Presanctified Holy Things are for the holy"[778] follows and the people's "One is holy...."[779] During "The Presanctified Holy Things...," the priest

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769. *Mateos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église,* 2:188–189. See the note of the Mateos regarding the celebration of a complete Liturgy on these days.

770. "Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα..."

771. "Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν..."

772. "Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, βασιλεῦ ἀόρατε..."

773. "Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως..."

774. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μόνος ἀγαθός..."

775. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ὁ τῇ σῇ οἰκονομίᾳ..."

776. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πάντα ποιήσας..."

777. "Πρόσχες Κύριε..."

778. "Πρόσχωμεν· τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις."

779. "Εἷς ἅγιος..."

"elevates the Presanctified Holy Things" (*Codex Sinai 962*) or "holds the holy chalice" (*Codices Athens 662, 1910; Koutloumousiou 358*), or "touches the sacred cup" (Symeōn of Thessaloniki).[780]

9) Preparatory prayers for holy communion were not said, but the priest immediately communed the newlyweds, without a special invitation (according to the more ancient taxis), or with the address common in every era: "Draw near,"[781] "With fear of God...,"[782] "With fear of God and faith, O newlyweds, draw near."[783] The people recited "Blessed is he who comes..."[784] (according to the more ancient taxis of the Divine Liturgy).

10) During the communion of the newlyweds, the koinōnikon "I will take the cup of salvation..."[785] or "Taste and see..."[786] was chanted. After this, the priest placed the holy chalice on the holy table, or, according to another codex, in the prothesis.

11) "Arise. Having partaken...,"[787] obviously the prayer of thanksgiving after participation in the Divine Liturgy, and its exclamation "For you are our sanctification...."[788]

12) The common cup was imparted either immediately after holy communion during the koinōnikon, or after the exclamation "For you are our sanctification..."

13) The sacred dance followed, the remainder of the wedding, and the dismissal. The prayer "O God, our God, who was present in Cana..."[789] serves as a prayer behind the ambōn.

The question that naturally arises is why a complete Liturgy was not performed during a marriage, but rather this form of the Presanctified. Certainly not because marriages were performed during

780. PG 155:512c. Phountoulēs omits the word "διά" in his citation of the text, "ἅπτεται διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ποτηρίου."
781. "Προσέλθετε..."
782. "Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ..."
783. "Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως, οἱ νεόνυμφοι, προσέλθετε."
784. "Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος..."
785. "Ποτήριον σωτηρίου..."
786. "Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε..."
787. "Ὀρθοί· μεταλαβόντες..."
788. "Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν..."
789. "Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ παραγενόμενος..."

the days of the Fasts, during which the celebration of a complete Divine Liturgy is not permitted. The celebration of a marriage during Great Lent is also likewise forbidden (Council of Laodicea, canon fifty-two). There were other reasons: perhaps the length of the marriage service combined with a complete Liturgy; perhaps the need for marriage to be separated from the large ecclesiastical synaxes of the entire parish community, especially during Sundays, feasts, and festivals; perhaps its celebration at different hours than the usual ones for the Liturgy. Perhaps even many of these reasons together, or possibly also others contributed to the search and discovery of this more practical solution.[790]

In any case, two points are worthy of particular emphasis: first, the Church's understanding of the faithful's living conditions, which made the understanding flexible and adaptable; second, the insistence on the connection of Liturgy and marriage. The easy solution of separating both mysteries, as occurred later, was unacceptable to the conscience of the Church. Symeōn of Thessaloniki foresaw such a danger, in some manner prophetically, and vividly underscores the necessity of their connection and the theological significance of the completion of the mystery of the spouses' union in Christ with their participation, at the sacred hour of their marriage, in the life-giving mystery of holy communion: "Immediately, he touches the Presanctified Elements through the sacred cup and exclaims: 'The Holy Presanctified Things are for the holy....' And while all crying aloud 'One is holy, one is Lord...' because the latter is the only sanctification, peace, and union of the ones joined together, he communes the newlyweds, if they are capable. They must also be prepared in

790. Priests are restricted to celebrating only one complete Liturgy on a particular day. The Presanctified is not a complete Liturgy and could be celebrated even if a complete one had been performed at another time of the same day (with the caveat that the priest does not consume during the Presanctified). The restriction of communing once on the same day applies to all the faithful, including priests. Consequently, Phountoulēs also observes above in this answer, "It appears more likely that he retained from holy communion only that which was required for the newlyweds' partaking, just as nowadays for the communion of the sick, and consequently it was not required for him to be fasting." See also question 389 regarding the priest's celebration and communion on the same day.

order that they may be worthily crowned and rightly conjoined. For Sacred Communion is the end of every rite and the seal of every divine mystery. And the Church acting rightly prepares the Divine Gifts beforehand for the atonement and blessing of those joined together; since He was present in the marriage, who also is the giver of the gifts, both for their peaceful union and concord. Wherefore, it is necessary for those conjoined in marriage to be worthy of communion and to be joined together in the holy temple, for the children of God to be in the house of God, as facing Him; where also through the Gifts He Himself is celebrating, is set before, and is seen in our midst" (*Dialogue*, chapter 282).[791]

However, whatever happened regarding baptism also occurred concerning marriage. Its connection and completion with the Divine Liturgy, which, despite the difficulties it presented, the Fathers and liturgical practice of the Church struggled to maintain (and maintained), whether with the form of a complete Liturgy, or with the form of a Presanctified, for almost seventeen hundred years, the two remaining dark centuries of slavery were sufficient to eliminate. Perhaps at that time marriages in homes and the lack of theological vigilance on the part of the shepherds of the Church were justified by the living conditions.

In our days, the sacredness of marriage is passing through a crisis of another type, perhaps deeper. It has been changed into a worldly event, an official registration, a mandatory procedure, through which both faithful and unfaithful pass as long as they are recorded as Orthodox Christians. The disconnection of marriage and the Holy Eucharist came to us like a *deus ex machina*,[792] to protect us from the additional difficulties we would have from people who have essentially severed their relationships with the mysteries of the Church. Thus, we have arrived at viewing the return to tradition and

791. PG 155:512c–513d.

792. "ἀπὸ μηχανῆς Θεός." An unexpected solution to an apparently insolvable problem. Phountoulēs is implying that at least one of the spouses would either refuse or be unable to receive the Eucharist if its reception was still part of the marriage service.

to the precise practice of the Church as an innovation or utopia. This return is so clear, categorical, and unanimous that every deviation from it eliminates our boast that we are a Church of tradition and children of our Fathers. The ascertaining of this reality is something that must make us seriously think about the present and the future of our liturgical life.

369

At the end of Matins for feasts of celebrated saints, which theotokion in the same tone as the apolytikion of the saint is chanted, that of Vespers or of the end of Matins?[793]

As is well known, in the Hōrologion and the Paraklētikē, there are two series of theotokia that are chanted during Vespers and Matins after the apolytikion (at "Now let your servant depart..."[794] and at "God is the Lord..."[795]). The first series is the theotokia that accompany the resurrectional apolytikia of the eight tones (first, "When Gabriēl had uttered...,"[796] second, "All surpassing every thought...,"[797] third, "Unto you who mediated...,"[798] and so forth). The second series is entitled, "Theotokia in each tone, chanted throughout the year after the apolytikia of uncelebrated saints."[799] This series is twofold. It includes, for each of the eight tones, six theotokia for the six days of the week (from Monday up until Saturday), which are chanted after the apolytikion in Vespers and Matins, and another six theotokia, according to the same system, which are chanted "at the end of Matins." At the end of Matins, as is well known, the apolytikia are chanted after the doxology if there is one, or after the

793. See also questions 131, 154, 173, 174, 341, 342, 343, 421, 560, and 595.
794. "Νῦν ἀπολύεις..."
795. "Θεὸς Κύριος..."
796. "Τοῦ Γαβριὴλ φθεγξαμένου..."
797. "Πάντα ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν..."
798. "Σὲ τὴν μεσιτεύσασαν..."
799. "Θεοτοκία εἰς ἕκαστον ἦχον ψαλλόμενα ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὰ ἀπολυτίκια τῶν μὴ ἑορταζομένων ἁγίων." An uncelebrated saint is commemorated, but a festive taxis for celebration is not followed. Such a celebration "πανηγυρικῶς" "festively" implies a celebration with a complete Liturgy as well as an Artoklasia. This type of celebration is distinguished from a simple "commemoration" (μνήμη).

trisagion, and so forth, which follows "It is good to acknowledge the Lord...,"[800] when a great doxology is not provided for to be chanted. The question refers to these theotokia.

And regarding the theotokia of the end of Vespers and of the beginning of Matins, there is no problem. When the saint is celebrated, then the theotokion in the same tone of the apolytikion is chanted from the first series, so to speak, from the "resurrectional" theotokia. When the saint is not celebrated, the theotokion again in the same tone of the apolytikion is then chanted from the second series, in accordance with the day of the week. If the saint falls in a forefeast or afterfeast period for a feast of the Lord or of the Mother of God, then the theotokion is not chanted, but the apolytikion of the feast, according to the Typikon.

The difficulty is in the theotokion at the end of Matins. In parish practice, at least as far as I know, these theotokia are no longer chanted. After the apolytikion of the saint—celebrated or uncelebrated—if a Divine Liturgy is celebrated, "Blessed is the kingdom . . ."[801] is immediately said. If a Liturgy is not celebrated, the ektenēs ("Have mercy on us, O God...")[802] and the dismissal are said, or, according to others, the epistle and gospel reading of the day, ektenēs, and dismissal. Naturally, this is not correct. This is a case of a simplification, which originated either due to the difficulty of the matter or from a general adoption of the taxis that applies to feasts of the Lord and of the Mother of God (the apolytikia of which, as is well known, are not accompanied by theotokia).

The precise taxis is observed in the monasteries, as many of course that maintain the Typikon unaltered and do not join the Divine Liturgy to Matins, or, even if they do perform them jointly, they first conclude the service of Matins, read the First, Third, and Sixth Hours, and afterwards attach the celebration of the Divine Liturgy.

800. "Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι..."
801. "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία..."
802. "Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός..."

Therefore, consistent with this precise taxis, a theotokion is not chanted at the end of Matins on feasts of the Lord and of the Mother of God, nor during their forefeasts and afterfeasts, since at the end of Matins the apolytikion of the feast is chanted, which is not accompanied, as we said, by a theotokion.

During the commemorations of celebrated saints, namely, when the doxology is chanted, the taxis for the feasts of the Lord and of the Mother of God then applies by extension. Namely, after the doxology, only the apolytikion of the celebrated saint is chanted without any theotokion, neither from the "resurrectional" series, which is chanted after "Now let your servant depart..." and at "God is the Lord...," nor from the series of weekday theotokia. An ektenēs and dismissal are immediately after the apolytikion. According to the correct observation of the oikonomos Geōrgios Rēgas of eternal memory, the precise taxis also always requires the chanting of the theotokion at the end of Matins, just as also in Vespers and at "God is the Lord." The Typikon incorrectly extends the taxis for the feasts of the Lord and the Mother of God to celebrated saints as well (see *Questions of the Typikon*, Athens 1954, pp. 43–45).[803]

During the commemorations of uncelebrated saints, namely, when a doxology is not chanted, after "It is good to acknowledge..." and the trisagion prayer, and so forth, the apolytikion of the uncelebrated saint and the theotokion from the series that we mentioned are chanted, according to the tone of the apolytikion and according to the day of the week on which the saint's commemoration coincides. Each day has its own theotokion at the end of Matins, although the same ones are repeated quite a few times. The ektenēs and the dismissal follow the theotokion.[804]

803. Γεώργιος Ρήγας, *Ζητήματα Τυπικοῦ* (Ἀθῆναι: Συνοδινός, 1954), 43–45. Geōrgios Rēgas (1884–1961), a native of Skiathos, studied there and in Athens, was ordained in 1920, exercised pastoral and teaching responsibilities, and was eventually honored with the ecclesiastical office of oikonomos. His scholarship included special studies focused on the liturgical life of Skiathos and extensive works dealing with the Typikon. See the discussion of Phountoulēs in the introduction of Γεώργιος Ρήγας, ed., *Τυπικόν*, Λειτουργικὰ Βλατάδων 1 (Θεσσαλονίκη: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἵδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1994), 7–10.

804. The word, "apolytikon" (ἀπολυτίκιον), can be translated as "dismissal hymn," and is followed by a dismissal (ἀπόλυσις) in Matins and Vespers, as

This practice is also the correct one, not simply because it is observed nowadays in the monasteries, but because matters themselves require it. At the beginning, we mentioned the title of these theotokia, which also has a character of a standard rubric. It prescribes that these theotokia are said "after the apolytikia of uncelebrated saints" (μετὰ τὰ ἀπολυτίκια τῶν μὴ ἑορταζομένων ἁγίων). Secondly, because at least some of these theotokia possess a reference to the festal calendar theme of the day of the week, a thing that pertains only in instances where a saint is not celebrated on this day. For example, Monday—the archangels, "You have accepted the word of the archangel...,"[805] plagal of the second tone; "You have surpassed the powers of the heavens...,"[806] grave tone. Wednesday and Friday—the Cross, "We magnify the rod from which God blossoming forth without seed destroyed death by the tree,"[807] second tone; "We magnify you, O Theotokos, crying out: You are the mountain from which the stone was ineffably hewn and crushed the gates of Hades,"[808] fourth tone. Saturday— "Prophets proclaimed beforehand, apostles taught, martyrs confessed...,"[809] third tone, and so forth.

In other words, in parishes, the distinction between celebrated and uncelebrated saints tends to be eliminated, at least at this point of the service.

Finally, let it be noted that in the edition of the Hōrologion from the Apostolikē Diakonia, there is a small but significant omission in the title of these theotokia: "of un (celebrated saints)" (μὴ [ἑορταζομένων ἁγίων]) is left out. However, the meaning of the stan-

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Phountoulēs observes.

805. "Ἀρχαγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω..."

806. "Ὑπερέβης τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν..."

807. "Χαῖρε ἡ ῥάβδος, ἐξ ἧς ἀσπόρως Θεὸς βλαστήσας, ἀνεῖλεν ἐν ξύλῳ τὸν θάνατον."

808. "Σὲ μεγαλύνομεν Θεοτόκε, βοῶντες· Σὺ εἶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐξ οὗ ἀῤῥήτως ἐτμήθη λίθος, καὶ πύλας τοῦ ᾅδου συνέτριψε." Phountoulēs only quotes the last phrase of the theotokion, "καὶ πύλας τοῦ ᾅδου συνέτριψε." Translation modified from Holy Transfiguration Monastery, *The Great Horologion or Book of the Hours*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 2020), 1:224.

809. "Προφῆται προεκήρυξαν, ἀπόστολοι ἐδίδαξαν, μάρτυρες ὡμολόγησαν..."

dard rubric is completely reversed in this manner. The "theotokia in each tone" are presented as chanted "after the apolytikia of celebrated saints" (μετὰ τὰ ἀπολυτίκια τῶν ἑορταζομένων ἁγίων). Conversely, it exists in its correct form "of uncelebrated saints" (τῶν μὴ ἑορταζομένων ἁγίων) in all the editions of the Hōrologion and the Paraklētikē, and indeed also in this edition of the Paraklētikē from the Apostolikē Diakonia, Athens 1976, p. 409.

370

Which Vespers is called "Small"? When it contains one or two idiomela, what is it? Which Vespers is performed inside the sacred bēma, and which outside, with the beautiful gate closed? With one idiomelon doxastikon, where is it celebrated?

371

When is Vespers celebrated with the doors of the bēma closed and when with them open?

We wrote concerning the distinction between "Small" and "Great" Vespers in the answers to Questions 67 and 154.[810] We are obliged to revisit this due to the repeated questions that we have received from time to time. Unfortunately, the incorrect terminology that is used in our printed liturgical books creates unnecessary complications and legitimate confusions.

In our liturgical tradition, a distinction between a Small and a Great Vespers only occurs on great feasts, during which the celebration of a vigil is provided for by the monastic Typika, as, for example, on Sundays (Saturday Vespers), the feasts of the Lord and of the Mother of God, and the commemorations of great saints. In these instances, two Vespers, the Small and the Great, each with different troparia and with a different ceremonial taxis, are provided for in our liturgical books. The Small one is celebrated at the usual time for Vespers after the Ninth Hour and before the trapeza. The

810. In the translated text, the mistaken reference to question 155 is corrected to 154.

doors of the bēma and the curtain remain closed throughout the entire duration of the Small Vespers. The priest does not enter the bēma at all. He says "Blessed is our God..."[811] before the beautiful gate and stands outside at his stasidion. He also performs the dismissal before the beautiful gate. He does not say the Lamp-lighting prayers, nor the litany of peace, nor the plērōtika, nor the prayer of inclination, nor the ektenēs. Nor does he cense during "Lord, I have cried to you,"[812] but rather the ecclesiarch[813] does. In certain monasteries he also says, "The evening prokeimenon."[814] As we said, the choir chants the particular troparia for Small Vespers.

Conversely, the Great Vespers is celebrated during the vigil after the trapeza and the Compline, is preceded by a censing of the temple, and begins with "Glory to the holy and consubstantial...."[815] All the diaconal and priestly parts are said by the deacon and priest that the taxis of Vespers provides for, and, naturally, an entrance also takes place. The curtain is open throughout its entire duration, the doors of the bēma are open when the ecclesiastical taxis provides for it, and the priest is found in the holy bēma throughout its entire duration. The deacon censes, or, in his absence, the priest. The choir chants the anoixantaria or "Blessed is the man,"[816] as well as the particular troparia of Great Vespers, readings are recited, if provided for, a Litē is conducted, and at the end, an Artoklasia. A reading follows, and Matins.

During the other days, where a vigil does not take place, the usual Vespers is chanted after the Ninth Hour. Depending on the solemnity or not of the feast or of the saint whose commemoration is celebrated, there is or there is not an entrance. Consequently, we

811. "Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός..."
812. "Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ."
813. "ὁ ἐκκλησιάρχης." Also known as an ekklēsiastikos (ἐκκλησιαστικός, ὁ), the term here usually refers to a sacristan who ensures the good order of the temple, including preparations for the services, and is appointed by the abbot or by annual rotation. The role described above by Phountoulēs can also be filled by a canonarch (κανονάρχης, ὁ) who ensures the taxis of the services.
814. "Ἑσπέρας προκείμενον."
815. "Δόξα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ..."
816. "Μακάριος ἀνήρ."

have a Vespers "with an entrance" or "without an entrance," just as it is clearly prescribed by the Typikon. It is neither Small nor Great. It is the usual daily Vespers. The curtain is open.

Now, when it has an entrance, the priest says, "Blessed is our God..." and all those things provided for by the taxis of Vespers from the bēma; and the same one or the deacon, if he participates in the service, censes during the entrance, and does the dismissal, as usual. Finally, the choir chants all those things provided for by the liturgical books, whether they are idiomela, prosomoia, doxastika, and so forth.

When it does not have an entrance, the curtain is open, but the doors of the bēma are closed throughout the entire duration of Vespers. The priest remains outside. He starts blessed[817] before the beautiful gate, says the Lamp-lighting prayers there, the litany of peace, the plērōtika, the ektenēs, and the dismissal. He only goes into the bēma at "Lord, I have cried..." to cense and comes back out and stands outside at his stasidion.

These things take place in the monasteries, where the precise taxis is observed. In parishes, as is well known, the monastic Typikon applies, but with quite a few simplifications and modifications, depending on the conservatism of the celebrants, the local tradition, and the formal adaptations that were done by the Typikon of the Great Church in current use. Indeed, many newer parish temples do not have the bēma doors. All-night vigils do not take place in the parishes, and, if in the rare event they take place, two Vespers—Small and Great—are not celebrated, but only Great Vespers. When, as is usual, no vigil is done, Small Vespers is always omitted, and the Great Vespers is no longer celebrated as "Great," namely, as a Vespers of a vigil with the standard rubrics that we described above but follows the form of the usual Vespers "with an entrance." In other words, in parishes only one Vespers service is performed, the daily Vespers, and, in order to avoid any confusion, the Vespers

817. "βάζει εὐλογητό." In other words, the priest begins the service with the words, "Blessed is our God..." (Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν...). A variant of this expression can be, "βάζει εὐλογητός."

or the service of Vespers, which can be celebrated with or without an entrance, according to the occasion. In ecclesiastical parlance, we have a preference without cause for epithets, and especially for "great," without substantive content, which is defined, as we saw, by certain specific needs and circumstances of the monastic Typikon, which, when using the terms "small" and "great," wishes to distinguish between two essentially different services that are celebrated on the same day.

And to summarize the deontology of the parish practice for Vespers based on the above. Vespers without an entrance is celebrated with the curtain open but with the doors of the bēma closed. The priest says all the parts belonging to him outside before the beautiful gate. He enters the bēma only to cense. In Vespers with an entrance, the priest is found always in the bēma, from where he also says all the priest and deacon parts, if there is no deacon. The curtain is open, and the beautiful gate—the doors of the bēma—is open during the entrance and the dismissal. And, in addition to what we said above, during Vespers without an entrance, the priest wears only an epitrachēlion. During one with an entrance, he wears an epitrachēlion and phelōnion.

372

In the service of unction, when done in the temple for many people, how can the "so-and-so"[818] be replaced? Some say, "those who have come together for this holy mystery,"[819] others, "those who are anointed by this holy oil."[820] Which is correct?

818. "δεῖνα." This Greek word is often parenthetically inserted as a placeholder in prayers and petitions where specific name(s) can be inserted. In the present translation, the word "name" has been used elsewhere to translate this word.

819. "τῶν συνελθόντων ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ μυστηρίῳ τούτῳ."

820. "τῶν χριομένων ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐλαίου τούτου."

373

During the Artoklasia, the names of those celebrating the feast[821] are usually said twice: during the ektenēs and during the prayer. Is this necessary, especially when there are many people who are celebrating?

The commemoration of names is usually considered a fairly "trifling"[822] subject. For this reason, it is also dealt with in a quite improvised manner by priests when they perform different services, perhaps without them ever being concerned about this small (at first glance) question. However, as a formal public worship activity of the Christian Church, the seriousness of liturgical practice requires of her instruments[823] commensurate preparation, even in the most minor considerations. Small details often decide the success of a matter. For this reason, instances are not rare where liturgical details of such a type even ruin the best and most solemn service.

The matter that the two related questions above pose is not particularly limited only to unction and the Artoklasia but also extends to all the other services and sacred mysteries.

The most extreme, but most traditional solution, which is followed by older and less learned priests, is for them to read all the names as many times as provided for by the ecclesiastical taxis. Thus, fortunately rarely nowadays, tens, if not hundreds, of names are heard, especially during common memorials and the Paraklēseis for August 15.[824] The modern tendency is for the commemoration of

821. "Celebrating the feast" is a way of describing the celebration of one's "name day," which is usually the day that the saint is commemorated after which one is named. One custom is to baptize a child on the day of the saint for which they are being named.

822. "σχολαῖον."

823. "τὰ ὄργανα." Phountoulēs here is comparing the Church's clergy to instruments or means for the accomplishment of the Church's public worship. He states in question 8 when describing the priest's vesting with the epitrachēlion, "From the moment when he would vest himself with it, the priest becomes the instrument of grace (τὸ ὄργανο τῆς χάριτος), the celebrant, the vessel of the Holy Spirit."

824. Phountoulēs refers to the celebrations of the service for the intercession of the Theotokos during the period of preparation for the feast of the Dormi-

names to be omitted with the result, where the liturgical texts provide for their commemoration ("so-and-so" or "the particular one"[825] and so forth), some phrase is sought that includes all those present or, more generally, all those for whom the service is celebrated, a phrase like those to which the first question refers. Both solutions are extreme, and neither the one nor the other can be considered absolutely successful or worthy of recommendation and general application.

The first presupposes a very popular and, we could say, simplistic perception, according to which if the name for whom a particular sacred rite is taking place is not heard, he/she is considered as not partaking in the graces that flow from the sacred rite. We know how much the majority of the people pay attention to this, and how great an importance they give to hearing the name during the prayers or the different entreaties of the Church. Certainly, we cannot ignore it, nor dismiss even this simplistic demand of the faithful. Conversely again, it is not permissible for us to encourage it, certainly with a danger for our action to be vilified in that it does not have pure motives but rather aims at the economic exploitation of the people. Because, as much as we wish for it not to be true, it is not so easy for even the most well-disposed people to be convinced that the compilation of endless lists of names at festivals, at Paraklēseis, at memorial services, and so forth, occurs out of fervent love and interest for the salvation of all the people itself, and not for the small or large gratuity that is offered by the faithful.[826] Before the laity, which is increasingly cultured and educated, realizes that God has no reason to hear this whole sea of names in order to have mercy on His people, the Church's teachers ought to focus on a theological enlightenment and on the guidance of the uncatechized people of God. The Church's entreaties embrace the whole world and all the

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tion on August 15.

825. "τοῦδε." In liturgical texts, this Greek word is used in a similar way to "δεῖνα" as a placeholder to insert specific name(s).

826. It is customary for the "folded note" containing the names that the priest is to read, to also contain a "monetary instrument."

faithful, and God, who knows "the age and name"[827] and the need of all, is referred to as being good and hears the entreaties of all and has mercy on and saves all.

It would also not be necessary to mention the theologically unacceptable narrowing of the celebration of the common services and petitions of the Church to certain faithful who happened to write down their names, as if the rest were simply the "spectators" of what is being celebrated. The destruction of the decorum of the entire liturgical climate should further be noted when the reading of a multitude of names begins, especially at memorials and Paraklēsis services, while the people of God grow impatient or stand as an apathetic witness of the recitation of this catalogue of names. I leave aside the occasional hilarity of the matter. For example, I mention an Artoklasia that I attended, during the synaxis for the Forerunner, on January 7 of a recent year. During the service, the pious priest read over fifty names, of which nearly forty were "Iōannēs." Previously, a bishop had also written to us about something similar, concerning the commemoration of names during the great entrance, and we published his letter at that time (see question 231).

The above viewpoints also have their serious response.

The great importance that the name has in the life of people, and the psychological significance and power that the calling of each person by his or her name wields, is well known. Name and person are identical. The knowledge of a name indicates knowledge of a person, interest regarding him or her, love, and affection. It dissolves the impression of anonymity as well as the mass, of the impersonal and anonymous multitude, which is so antithetical to individualized pastoral work, just as the Lord himself specified it: "He calls his own sheep by name" (John 10:3). Thus, the Holy Scriptures speak of the "names" of the faithful friends of God that are written "in the heavens" or "in the book of life" (Luke 10:20; Phil 4:3; Rev 3:5, 13:8, 17:8), the apostle Paul sends named greetings to the saints of various churches (Romans 16; Col 4:10ff.; 2 Tim 4:19ff., and others), and

827. "τὴν ἡλικία καὶ τὴν προσηγορία." This phrase is taken from the anaphora of the Liturgy of Saint Basileios the Great.

the evangelist John asks the presbyter Gaius to greet "the friends by name" (3 John 15).

Having in view this power and importance of the name, the Church introduced the commemoration of the names of the faithful, living and having "fallen asleep," into various petitions and prayers. Thus, an entreaty or liturgical practice is not conceivable, where mention does not take place of the names of those for whom it is performed, whether it is a baptism, marriage, ordination, funeral or memorial service, unction, an absolution, or occasional[828] prayer, and so forth. Especially in the Divine Liturgy, the names are commemorated in the proskomidē, ektenēs, and diptychs of the holy anaphora. Even at the time of holy communion, the believer—priest, deacon, or layperson—who partakes of the mystery ("The servant of God, so-and-so,[829] partakes of the Body...") is particularly specified. It is also well known from various ancient witnesses that the names of those who offered the gifts were recited in public, and that the names of the living and of the deceased were commemorated during the diptychs.

Of course, this practice presupposes a proper relationship between shepherd and flock, a genuine personal and close one among the members of each local ecclesiastical community. Otherwise, we again degenerate into dead letter and form without substance, since we do not effectively break free from anonymity, when knowing only the name and not the person the name represents.[830] In the overgrown parishes of big cities, this became de facto impossible. The shepherd no longer knows all the sheep by name, but only the name, and the brethren no longer know their brethren.

The example of the Divine Liturgy is very characteristic because it shows us the way in which the Church very wisely regulated this matter, when the increase of Christians resulted in the increase of names and the slackening of the originally close relationships of the

828. Prayers for specific occasions.

829. "δεῖνα."

830. In other words, the priest no longer knows many of the parish personally and individually, but only by the raw "name" provided on the paper for commemoration.

members of the Church among themselves, and of the shepherds with the people. Namely, the traditional commemoration of names was preserved, but the whole proskomidē was transferred from its original place, from the Cherubic hymn to the beginning before the enarxis of the Divine Liturgy. During the proskomidē, without any longer disturbing the liturgical atmosphere during the time of the mystery, the multitude of names of the living and of those who have "fallen asleep," and even of the saints, are individually recited. The diptychs of the Divine Liturgy were gradually absorbed by the proskomidē, and the commemoration of only the names of certain saints and faithful, and commemorations generally according to categories or according to the local needs of the universal Church, typically remained in the prayer of the anaphora. This becomes obvious, especially regarding the names of the saints, if we compare ancient Liturgies with later ones. For example, in the Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos the Brother of God, according to its ancient Jerusalemite form, more than one hundred saints are commemorated in the diptychs of the anaphora, while in the later Byzantine forms, the commemoration of the Theotokos, the Forerunner, and the saint of the day alone remained. The commemoration of the names of the living and of the deceased of the diptychs followed the same course.

Conversely, again we were taught from the tradition of the Church, as we saw above, how the names were preserved in the local individualized sacred rites (baptisms, weddings, funerals, and so forth), where not only is a disturbance not caused because of their number, but the occasion necessitated the individualization of the petitions to certain people.

Therefore, in light of the Church's tradition, as it is outlined in the historical development of liturgical forms, we can trace certain general principles that can also guide us in contemporary practice. In services that are done for all the faithful, such as the Divine Liturgy, common memorials, unctions, Paraklēseis, and so forth, the commemoration of names is not advisable aside from only in exceptional instances. For example, in a small parish community, the names of those about to be married, or those who have recently

"fallen asleep," or those who are seriously ill, or Christians in special circumstances, such as those who are about to emigrate or to undertake a public work, and so forth, could be commemorated in the ektenēs, provided that these persons are known to the Christians. This would tighten the bonds of brotherhood among the faithful and would give rise for them to pray for their needy brethren.

Again, in private sacred rites that take place in homes, or in a private liturgy,[831] the commemoration of names must be considered indispensable. Conversely, at common unctions, Paraklēseis, and memorial services, and so forth, the petitions must have a generic character and be as simple as possible, without archaisms and solecisms. For common memorials, the beautiful, concise form, "pious and orthodox Christians, rulers...from the beginning and up until the last days"[832] is sufficient, without adding, as is usually done "and your servants..." for the unending list of names to begin. At unction and similar instances, instead of the complex "those who have come together,"[833] "those who have come forward,"[834] "those who are anointed,"[835] and similar things, which are customary and mentioned in the first question, the word "these"[836] ("these your servants")[837] would suffice alone, just as it also exists in the text of many prayers.

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831. "μιὰ ἰδιωτικὴ λειτουργία." In the Church of Greece, so-called "private Liturgies" are celebrated in small chapels on private lands or those belonging to parishes and monasteries. These Liturgies are celebrated on the basis of ad hoc requests from the faithful, often out of affinity or spiritual obligation to the saint for whom the chapel is dedicated. Although these ad hoc Liturgies are technically open to others, they are not part of the official parish calendar nor even made known to other congregants. The phrase "we opened the church" (ἀνοίξαμε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) is an expression often heard in villages after a family has arranged and provided for the celebration of such a Liturgy, especially in the case of chapels not normally used.

832. "εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν, βασιλέων... ἐκ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων."

833. "συνελθόντων."

834. "προσελθόντων."

835. "χριομένων."

836. "τούτων."

837. "τῶν δούλων σου τούτων."

And, in the Artoklasia, it would not be opportune for many names to read, if it is indeed done in a common festive synaxis, although in parishes it has been turned into an individualized rite. At any rate, a double commemoration is entirely inappropriate since the prayer does not indeed provide for the insertion of names ("and multiply them in this city and in your whole world and sanctify your faithful servants who partake of them").[838] If a commemoration might be done, it would be only done in the ektenēs, which, in parish practice, precedes the prayer of the blessing of the loaves, and specifically in the petition, "for mercy, life, peace...."[839] In a case of many names, this petition could stop at "who celebrate this holy feast."[840] Let the names be read in the proskomidē.

374

In baptism, when it concerns a female, are the analogous words in the litany of peace and the prayers converted from masculine to feminine?[841]

It is very logical for this conversion of genders to be done, just as it is also done in other prayers and services. The printed Euchologia have all the services and prayers formulated in the masculine gender. Notably, the service of holy baptism in old manuscripts is formulated in the plural person because it presupposes its group celebration. However, a modification from the masculine to feminine, from what at least I know, is not encountered in the manuscripts. This was obviously done by the celebrants during the celebration of the mystery.

However, the difficulty is how this change will be done by priests with little education. Especially for the baptismal service, it is not too difficult as long as a relatively careful preparation and a preliminary study of the service are done. From the first prayer ("for making a catechumen")[842] up until the second prayer of tonsuring,

838. "καὶ πλήθυνον αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον σου ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνοντας πιστοὺς δούλους σου ἁγίασον."

839. "ὑπὲρ ἐλέους, ζωῆς, εἰρήνης..."

840. "τῶν ἐπιτελούντων τὴν ἁγίαν ἑορτὴν ταύτην."

841. The question refers to the grammatical gender in the Greek language.

842. "εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον."

I counted around ninety instances where a change of gender is required, namely, a quite significant percentage that presupposes sufficient attention and grammatical knowledge.

Fortunately, a large portion of those words is easily converted: the pronoun "αὐτοῦ" (his), αὐτῷ (him), and αὐτόν (him) which corresponds to "αὐτῆς" (her), "αὐτῇ" (her), and "αὐτήν" (her) is encountered around fifty times. In the first exorcism, two instances of "αὐτῷ" (it) will remain as they are, because they depend on the neuter noun, "τοῦ πλάσματος" (the creature), ("depart and withdraw from this creature [τοῦ πλάσματος], and do not return nor hide in it [αὐτῷ], nor encounter it [αὐτῷ]").[843] "Ὁ δοῦλος, τοῦ δούλου, τῷ δούλῳ, τὸν δοῦλον" ("servant" in the masculine), which, correspondingly, immediately become "ἡ δούλη, τῆς δούλης, τῇ δούλῃ, τὴν δούλην" in the feminine, is encountered around ten times. In the same way, "τὸν νεοφώτιστον" (the newly illumined) in the masculine will become "τὴν νεοφώτιστον" in the feminine; "τὴν ἑαυτοῦ [κεφαλήν]" (his [head]) will become "τὴν ἑαυτῆς [κεφαλήν]" (her [head]);[844] and "ἀγωνιστὴν" (combatant) in the masculine will become "ἀγωνίστριαν" in the feminine.[845] The masculine "νεολέκτου στρατιώτου" (newly-enlisted soldier) of the first exorcism must be converted to "νεολέκτου στρατιώτιδος" in the feminine (from "στρατιῶτις," soldier).[846]

The case of about twenty participles is somewhat more difficult, of which three are each repeated twice. Below we cited them in the order in which they are found in the text and placed their feminine form within parentheses:

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843. First exorcism prayer: "Ἔξελθε, καὶ ὑπαναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου, καὶ μὴ ὑποστρέψῃς, μηδὲ ὑποκρυβῇς ἐν αὐτῷ, μηδὲ συναντήσῃς αὐτῷ."

844. Prayer of washing: "Ὁ ἐνδυσάμενος (ἡ ἐνδυσαμένη) σε, τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν, σοὶ ὑπέκλινε σὺν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ (ἑαυτῆς) κεφαλὴν ὃν διαφύλαξον ἀήττητον ἀγωνιστὴν (ἀγωνίστριαν) διαμεῖναι κατὰ τῶν μάτην ἔχθραν φερομένων κατ' αὐτοῦ (αὐτῆς) τε καὶ ἡμῶν, τῷ δὲ σῷ ἀφθάρτῳ στεφάνῳ μέχρι τέλους νικητὰς πάντας ἀνάδειξον."

845. See the text immediately above.

846. First exorcism prayer: "Ἔξελθε καὶ ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ σφραγισθέντος νεολέκτου στρατιώτου Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· κατ' ἐκείνου γάρ σε ὁρκίζω, τοῦ περιπατοῦντος ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων, τοῦ ποιοῦντος τοὺς Ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον."

τὸν καταξιωθέντα	(τὴν καταξιωθεῖσαν)	who has been accounted worthy
προσκυνῶν	(προσκυνοῦσα)	worshipping
δοξάζων	(δοξάζουσα)	glorifying
τοῦ σφραγισθέντος	(τῆς σφραγισθείσης)	the sealed
τοῦ εὐτρεπιζομένου	(τῆς εὐτρεπιζομένης)	who is being made ready
τυγχάνων	(τυγχάνουσα)	obtaining
πολιτευσάμενος	(πολιτευσαμένη)	having conducted himself/herself
φυλάξας	(φυλάξασα)	having guarded
διατηρήσας	(διατηρήσασα)	having preserved
τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ βαπτιζόμενον	(τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ βαπτιζομένην)	he/she who is baptized in it
τοῦ νῦν προσερχομένου	(τῆς νῦν προσερχομένης)	he/she who comes to
τῷ μέλλοντι	(τῇ μελλούσῃ)	in him/her who is about to
προκόπτοντος	(προκοπτούσης)	by his/her advancing
τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ	(τῇ βαπτιζομένῃ)	him/her who is baptized
γενόμενος	(γενομένη)	being
αὐξήσας	(αὐξήσασα)	increasing
εὐαρεστῶν	(εὐαρεστοῦσα)	well pleasing
ὁ ἐνδυσάμενος	(ἡ ἐνδυσαμένη)	he/she who has put [you] on
ὃν	(ἣν)	him/her
τὸν προσελθόντα	(τὴν προσελθοῦσαν)	who has come
προκόπτων	(προκόπτουσα)	advancing

The above detailed reference to the change of the genders in the service of holy baptism was done, on the one hand, to provide an assistance for those who have a need, and, on the other, to also show those who do not have a need of it that it is not so simple a matter as it might appear at first glance. For this reason, it is not correct for

this to be extemporaneously done at the time of the baptism, but a small but responsible and serious preparation is required.

375

Can the priest "take kairos" when no Christian is present?

This certainly is not something orderly. The service of "kairos" presupposes the presence of the people, from whom the priest also seeks forgiveness while bowing to them. Under normal conditions, neither is the rush of some priests justified that compels them to "take kairos" prior to the enarxis of the service, nor also the bad habit to "take kairos" in the holy bēma.

The ecclesiastical taxis is clear and well-conceived such that the time required for both vesting and the proskomidē exists and the presence of the people is ensured. Moreover, the priest's prayer before the celebration of the Divine Liturgy in front of the doors of the sacred bēma, the kissing of the icons, the petition for forgiveness, and the celebrants' entrance into the sanctuary is conducive to the creation of the appropriate liturgical atmosphere. The opportunity is also provided to the attending faithful to noetically participate in the preparatory prayer of the celebrant, and to also prepare themselves. This rite admittedly is so penitential and beautiful that I do not see the reason why it is irregularly done in the bēma.

The slackening of the taxis is obviously owed to the curtailment of the canon's chanting, which tends to be prevalent in parishes. Thus, whereas the older Hieratika provide for the celebrants' exit to "take kairos" after the chanting of the sixth ode, the newer ones place it during the first and third odes, but many clergy come out immediately after the litany of peace during the kathismata. In this manner, more time is given to them for vesting and for the proskomidē, but the presence of the people is reduced.

However, there are small villages where reasons of necessity cause the transfer of the "kairos" even before the enarxis of the service, where due to special conditions, the priest is required to serve as both reader and chanter during Matins. Unfortunately, these cases are also not very rare. The priests are then compelled to "take kairos,"

vest, complete the proskomidē, and next begin the blessed,[847] read the Six Psalms, and sometimes chant to the end of Matins. The violation of the taxis is not done from ignorance or negligence, but from dire necessity. The lack of the people's presence during the "kairos" is compensated for by the petition for forgiveness during the Cherubic hymn.

376

In some Euchologia, there also exists a second prayer for the service of the Small Hagiasmos. Is the service considered incomplete with one prayer?

Indeed, in certain Small Euchologia, there exist two prayers for the Small Hagiasmos, the customary, "O Lord our God, who is mighty in counsel and wonderful in works..."[848] and, another, "O great and most high God, who is worshipped in Holy Trinity...,"[849] which is usually labeled as "Hagioreitikē,"[850] since it is preferred during the celebration of the Hagiasmos on the Holy Mountain.

Both these prayers are encountered in manuscripts, either together or separately. For the first time we encounter them together, as far as I know, in the manuscript Euchologion of *Sinai 959* from the twelfth century. There, the first is entitled, "The Liturgy's prayer of the Hagiasmos,"[851] and the second, "The prayer for a bathing-place of a diakonia, namely, of a bath."[852] And from their titles it appears

847. "βάζουν εὐλογητό." In other words, the priests begin the service with the words, "Blessed is our God..." (Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν...). A variant of this expression can be, "βάζουν εὐλογητός."

848. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μέγας τῇ βουλῇ καὶ θαυμαστὸς τοῖς ἔργοις..."

849. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ὕψιστος, ὁ ἐν Τριάδι ἁγίᾳ προσκυνούμενος...." For the full text of the prayer, see А. А. Дмитриевский, Описание литургических рукописей, 2:49–50.

850. "Ἁγιορειτική." The word may be translated as "of the Holy Mountain," namely, of Mount Athos.

851. "Εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τῆς λειτουργίας."

852. "Εὐχὴ εἰς κόλυμβον διακονίας, ἤγουν λούσματος." In Byzantium, the "diakonia" (διακονία, ἡ) was a charitable association or confraternity whose work focused on the ritual bath (λοῦσμα, τό). Its functions included the bathing of the poor and the distribution of food at the bath. Baths and associated churches were built on sacred springs (ἁγίασμα, τό, pl., ἁγιάσματα, τά; hagiasma, pl. hagiasmata). Bathing and washing in such sacred springs are discussed

that they were not used in the same service. The first is a prayer of sanctification for water, which at that time was still associated with the Divine Liturgy, but the second is a prayer for a sacred bath, as it is stated in its title and clearly also appears in its content: "send down upon us the healings of your philanthropic gift in the water here present: not for the pleasure of the flesh, but...." The original text has "bath"[853] instead of "water."[854] Also, "for the pleasure of the flesh" is not justified in a service for the sanctification of water, from which the faithful only drink and are sprinkled. A little below[855] in the same prayer there is also another allusion to the "bath": "The one who has given the bath of regeneration to our race...whose bodies have been bathed by pure water."[856]

But also, apart from this, the existence of two consecratory prayers is not theologically justified in the same service. Given that with the one prayer sanctification takes place in the case of the

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by Phountoulēs in questions 573 and 574, which also concern the prayers of the Small Hagiasmos. In these answers, the distinction is made between waters that are sanctified from inception because they flow from miraculous or sacred springs (hagiasmata) and those sanctified through prayer. For further discussion of the diakonia and ritual baths, see Paul Magdalino, *"Church, Bath, and Diakonia in Medieval Constantinople,"* in *Church and People in Byzantium, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester, 1986*, ed. Rosemary Morris (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern Greek Studies, 1986), 165–188, and Paul Magdalino, "The culture of water in the 'Macedonian renaissance,'" in *Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium*, ed. Brooke Shilling and Paul Stephenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 130–144. For a description of the baths in Constantinople based on archaeological remains, including the Blachernai church complex, see Robert Ousterhout, "Water and Healing in Constantinople: Reading the Architectural Remains," in *Life is Short, Art Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, ed. Brigitte Pitarakis (Istanbul: Pera Museum Publications, 2015), 64–77. Additional discussion of sacred bathing can be found in Εὐλόγιος Κουρίλας, "Ἁγιασμάτιον Θράκης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Τὰ ἱερὰ λουτρά," *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ* 23 (1958): 65–184, and Μανουὴλ Γεδεών, "Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἁγιάσματα Θρακικά," *Θρακικά* 9 (1938): 101–121.

853. "λούσματι."

854. "ὕδατι."

855. Phountoulēs refers to the text as "above."

856. "Ὁ τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς παλλιγγενεσίας τῷ γένει ἡμῶν δωρησάμενος... λελουμένους τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῷ."

water, how can it again be considered plain water in order for a new blessing and a new sanctification to be received? In the manuscripts, and often in printed editions, many prayers exist for the same thing. This does not mean that the prayers are incomplete, and all are said to complete one another in some manner. They usually originate from different liturgical traditions and places, and copyists would gather them into collections in order to provide the opportunity for a selection by the celebrants. In times of liturgical decline, this is forgotten and there is no lack of cases where two or even more prayers are integrated to produce a new one (for example, the contemporary prayer of the Great Hagiasmos, concerning which see the answer to question 187), or all are incorporated into a long service, just as for example happens in unction and in the service for holy communion.

There exist at least five specific sanctification prayers for the water of the (Small) Hagiasmos in the manuscripts, of which only two are included in the printed editions. The prayer, "Lord, incline your ear and hear us...,"[857] is not included in them, which is not a prayer for the sanctification of water, but a prayer of inclination, namely, a blessing for the faithful who are present.

377

In the Small Hagiasmos, there is the troparion, "By the intercession of the glorious Unmercenaries, O Theotokos, guard your servants . . . ."[858] Is "O Theotokos"[859] correct? This is not a theotokion.

The series of troparia that exist in the service of the Small Hagiasmos ("You who received the message to rejoice through an Angel...")[860] has a quite complex history, which explains the many anomalies that exist in these troparia. The fact that they are not found in the old manuscripts is an indication of their later com-

857. "Κλῖνον, Κύριε, τὸ οὖς σου, καὶ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν..."

858. "Τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν ἐνδόξων Ἀναργύρων, Θεοτόκε, τοὺς δούλους σου φύλαττε..."

859. "Θεοτόκε."

860. "Ἡ τὸ Χαῖρε δι' ἀγγέλου δεξαμένη..."

position and introduction into the service in question. Initially, the Small Hagiasmos consisted of just one prayer and was basically linked with the Divine Liturgy. Its detachment from it resulted in its development into an independent service, which required all the elements of independence, namely, psalms, troparia, readings, and so forth. The development took place in imitation of the service of Matins, with reminders of its older connection with the Divine Liturgy.

The series of troparia was originally done, as it appears from the oldest manuscripts, for the purpose of them to be inserted into the stichologia of Psalm 50, the ode of the Theotokos, or even the ode of Zacharias. In the manuscripts, these troparia display such a great number of variants that rarely does anyone find precisely the same ones or even ones equal in number. Obviously, they are not all works of the same author, or at least other troparia were added to the basic initial ones (which certainly are those that have an alphabetical acrostic) by various other authors, especially according to their devotion to various saints. But even the series with the alphabetical acrostic also has its own peculiarities. The majority of its troparia are theotokia and are addressed to the Panagia. "O my Christ, as one merciful, grant..."[861] and "O compassionate one, persuaded by all the saints..."[862] are addressed to Christ but also mention the intercessions of the Theotokos, namely, they are also theotokia in the manner well known from other instances. "O Savior, spare..."[863] is addressed only to Christ, without making mention of the Theotokos. And, while the alphabetical series concludes with a triadikon ("We chant to you...")[864] and a theotokion ("O Virgin, who bore....")[865] according to the form of odes of canons (note that this series has the character of a ninth ode, since it has the heirmos of the ninth in plagal of the second tone, "You who received the joyful message through an angel..."[866] as

861. "Δός, Χριστέ μου..."
862. "Ὑπὸ πάντων..."
863. "Φεῖσαι, Σῶτερ..."
864. "Ψάλλομέν σοι..."
865. "Ὦ παρθένε, ἡ τεκοῦσα..."
866. "Ἡ τὸ χαῖρε δι' ἀγγέλου δεξαμένη..."

its automelon), obviously since two additional verses from the ode of the Theotokos ("He has put down the mighty...,"[867] "He has helped his servant, Israel..."[868]) remained, two more theotokia are added outside of the acrostic ("O rejoice, mountain..."[869] and "By the intercessions, O Merciful One..."[870]). A series of troparia is dependent now on this last theotokion ("By the intercessions, O Merciful One..."), which presents an even more confusing image. Usually, in the printed editions apart from the new triadikon ("The Father and Son, we glorify...")[871] and the new theotokion ("In the last times, you who ineffably conceived..."),[872] which we find again at the end of this new series, there are four more troparia: one for the Archangels, one for the Forerunner, one for the Apostles and the rest of the saints, and one for the Unmercenaries. The one for the Unmercenaries gives the impression that it is an insertion because in the preceding troparion, the invocations to the saints naturally conclude with mentioning them all together. In addition, it is addressed to the Theotokos, while the others are to Christ. In many manuscripts, there also are other troparia for the prophets, the martyrs, the blessed and righteous ones, the Three Hierarchs, Saint Panteleēmon, Saint Nikolaos, the great martyrs Dēmētrios, Geōrgios and the remaining ones, and others in a number of variants. Some of these have been included in certain printed editions. The same disorder is also observed in these troparia as the previous ones. The majority are addressed to Christ, but others directly to the saints.

867. "Καθεῖλε δυνάστας..."
868. "Ἀντελάβετο Ἰσραήλ..."
869. "Χαῖρε ὄρος..."
870. "Ταῖς πρεσβείαις, ἐλεῆμον..."
871. "Τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν..."
872. "Ἡ ἀρρήτως ἐπ' ἐσχάτων συλλαβοῦσα..."

Within such a confusing tradition, it is not possible for anyone to be certain what is the place of the contested troparion.[873] Nor can one say with certainty, since it is a theotokion, that it is not found here in its proper or, at least, its original position. However, something else is most strange in this troparion. The Holy Unmercenaries are presented interceding, not with Christ, but with the Theotokos, for her to protect Christians. The theological foundation for this troparion is undeniably popular and exaggerated.

In manuscripts, we have two variants of this troparion that do not present the difficulty above. The troparion is no longer a theotokion, nor does it present the Unmercenaries as interceding with the Theotokos. In the codex of the National Library of Athens under number 664 from the fifteenth century, it has the following form:

> By the intercession of the glorious Unmercenaries* grant to us healing of both soul and body* O Christ, only rich in mercy.[874]

Again, in the *Codices Athens 672, 674*, and *675* from the seventeenth century, there is the one below:

> By the intercessions of the glorious Unmercenaries* and martyrs and all your saints* send down your mercies on us.[875]

It cannot be established whether the troparion in use nowadays constitutes a corruption of the two above or these two correct the former one, a thing that must probably be more likely. In any case, in a possible new edition of the Small Euchologion, it will be good for this troparion to be corrected in order for the dual liturgical and theological difficulty that it presents to be smoothed out.

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873. "By the intercession of your glorious Unmercenaries, O Theotokos, guard your servants..." (Τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν ἐνδόξων Ἀναργύρων, Θεοτόκε, τοὺς δούλους σου φύλαττε...).

874. "Τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν ἐνδόξων Ἀναργύρων* ἡμῖν δίδου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος* ἴασιν, μόνε Χριστὲ πολυέλεε."

875. "Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῶν ἐνδόξων Ἀναργύρων* καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ πάντων ἁγίων σου* τὰ σὰ ἐλέη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κατάπεμψον."

Of the two corrections above, the second (of *Codices 672, 674,* and *675*) is preferable because the series of invocations of the saints will thus more naturally conclude, but under the condition that the previous troparion that refers to the apostles takes the form it is attested to in the codices above (and in *Athens 798* from the sixteenth century):

> By the intercession of the glorious apostles* O life-giver,
> Christ our God,* establish our faith as unshaken.[876]

378

By tradition, in the home of the woman in childbed, usually during the fifth or sixth day from the birth of the child, an Hagiasmos is done, and then the prayers from the Euchologion "for a woman in childbed"[877] are read. Is this taxis correct?

Question 30 referred to a similar custom. According to that question, the priest did not read the prayers "for a woman in childbed" of the Euchologion in the home of the woman in childbed, but in the temple, over a container of water, with which afterwards the woman in childbed, the house, and all those who attended the birth were sprinkled. In the question above, we find another practice which certainly constitutes an additional liturgical development of the custom above.

Indeed, the use of sanctified water in any manner during the service "for the woman in childbed" is done by custom, without being provided for by the official liturgical practice as described in the Euchologia. It has certainly been introduced as an element of purification, which is common to all religions and popular beliefs. In the practice of the Church, it has been unofficially introduced by the influence of the legislation of Leviticus concerning things clean and unclean, and of Levitical purifications, which were done by sprinklings and washings with water. Even in the very prayers that exist in our Euchologia and are also used nowa-

876. "Τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν ἐνδόξων Ἀποστόλων,* ζωοδότα Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν,* τὴν πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀσάλευτον στήριξον.

877. "εἰς γυναῖκα λεχώ."

days, we encounter the understanding that the woman in childbed is found in a condition of spiritual and bodily impurity, just as both the home and all those who assisted in the birth or touched the woman in childbed ("in iniquities were we conceived; and we are in a state of uncleanness before you,"[878] first prayer; "purify her from the state of uncleanness...cleanse her from bodily uncleanness,"[879] second prayer; "and pardon your servant [name] and all the household in which the child was born; and forgive all who have touched her and all who happen to be here present, as a good God and the lover of humankind,"[880] third prayer. Compare also similar phrases in the prayers of the forty-day blessing). Whether this is consistent with the New Testament and the theological teaching and practice of the early church is another matter, which is not for us to examine at present (see the related studies of Fr. Panagiotēs Simigiatos, "The purification of women after childbirth", *Grēgorios ho Palamas*, v. 45 (1962), pp. 108–118, and a response from Fr. Kōnstantinos Papagiannēs, with the same title, in the same periodical, v. 46 (1963), pp. 223–229).[881]

However, once it also became accepted that Levitical legislation concerning impurity also applied to the New Israel, and that, according to them, the woman in childbed is impure, there was nothing left but for the methods of purification to also be adopted that were provided for by Leviticus. Thus, we have on the one hand in our official liturgical practices the prayers "for a woman in childbed on the first day after the birth of the child"[882] and on the fortieth day, but unofficially, purifying cleansings with sanctified water. In the manuscripts, there is mention of

878. "ἐν ἀνομίαις συνελήφθημεν· καὶ διὰ ῥύπου πάντες ἐσμὲν ἐνώπιόν σου."

879. "καὶ τοῦ ῥύπου κάθαρον... καὶ καθάρισον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σωματικοῦ ῥύπου."

880. "καὶ συγχώρησον τῇ δούλῃ σου (τῇδε), καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ, ᾧ ἐγεννήθη τὸ παιδίον· καὶ τοῖς ἁψαμένοις αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῖς ἐνθάδε εὑρισκομένοις πᾶσιν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς συγχώρησον."

881. Παναγιώτης Σιμιγιάτος, "Ὁ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν καθαρμὸς τῶν γυναικῶν," *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 45 (1962): 108–118; Κωνσταντίνος Παπαγιάννης, "Ὁ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν καθαρμὸς τῶν γυναικῶν," *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 46 (1963): 223–229. Kōnstantinos Papagiannēs (1929–2014).

882. "εἰς γυναῖκα λεχὼ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ παιδίου αὐτῆς."

sprinkling with "sanctified water,"[883] or with the Hagiasmos of Theophany, or with "holy water, namely, zeon."[884] According to other manuscripts, again, a container with water was provided ("a vessel on top of a stool"),[885] which they did not sanctify with a special service, but with the prayers for the first day, which were read over it. Symeōn of Thessaloniki attests that the water was sanctified with the sign of the cross and the house was sprinkled with it, and also gives a theological interpretation to this: "But [the priest] sealing the water with the sign of the cross, in advance of holy baptism, sprinkles the house" (*Dialogue*, chapter 59).[886] Something similar also is done in certain regions during the service of the forty-day blessing, during the reading of the prayers, where the women hold a bottle of water that they will use as Hagiasmos for the sprinkling of their homes.

This is a "paraliturgical," for us to characterize it in this way, practice, which no one can either approve or disapprove, since, indeed, the later liturgical practice appears to be compatible[887] with Old Testament or these popular viewpoints. If such an issue were raised, our attention must turn towards there and not to the water that the people use.

Regarding the history of the matter, we publish below the taxis for the Hagiasmos in combination with the prayers for a woman in childbed, as the reverend priest who submitted the question described it in his letter:

883. "ἡγιασμένον ὕδωρ."
884. "ἅγιον ὕδωρ, ἤτοι τοῦ ζέου."
885. "ἀγγεῖον ἐπάνω σκαμνίου."
886. PG 155:208d.
887. "συμβιβάζεται."

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός... Κύριε εἰσάκουσον... Θεὸς Κύριος... Ἡ γέννησίς σου, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν... Ἡ γέννησίς σου, Θεοτόκε... Ὁ ν' ψαλμός. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε... Δόξα. Κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς... Καὶ νῦν. Τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας τὴν πύλην... Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὅτι ἅγιος... Νῦν ἐπέστη ὁ καιρός... καὶ τὰ τρία ἑπόμενα τροπάρια. Τρισάγιον. Ἀποστόλος. Εὐαγγέλιον. Εἰρηνικά. Εὐχὴ μικροῦ ἁγιασμοῦ. Εἰρήνη πᾶσι. Τὰς κεφαλάς... Κλῖνον, Κύριε... Σῶσον, Κύριε, τὸν λαόν σου... γ'. Καὶ ῥαντίζει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς παρεστῶτας. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός... Ὅτι ἐλεήμων... Τὰς τρεῖς εὐχὰς τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰς γυναῖκα λεχὼ καὶ ἀπόλυσις. Ὁ ἐν σπηλαίῳ γεννηθείς... Δι' εὐχῶν....

Blessed is our God... O Lord hear my prayer... God is the Lord... Your nativity, O Christ our God... Your nativity, O Theotokos... Psalm 50. Have mercy on us, O Lord... Glory. O Lord, have mercy on us... Both now. Open unto to us the gate of compassion... Let us pray to the Lord. For you, our God, are holy... Now the time has come... and the next three troparia. Trisagion... Epistle reading. Gospel reading. Litany of peace. Prayer for the Small Hagiasmos. Peace to all. Let us bow our heads... Incline your ear, O Lord... O Lord save your people... (3). And the priest sprinkles the house and those present. Have mercy on us, O God... For you are a merciful... The three prayers of the service for a woman in childbed and dismissal. May He who was born in a cave... Through the prayers...."

379

Is it correct for an unbaptized baby, which bears Satan in its heart and soul, to be brought into the holy bēma during the forty-day blessing?

380

Since entrance into the sacred temple is prohibited for the unbaptized, why is the entrance into the sanctuary not only permitted for unbaptized babies, but is required during the forty-day blessing?

381

If the baby was baptized at its birth, or prior to the forty days, will the service of the forty-day blessing be performed?[888]

A series of questions is referring to the service of the forty-day blessing, the answer to the majority of which presupposes knowledge of the historical course that the pertinent liturgical practice of the Church followed through the centuries. This alone can enlighten us as to the meaning that our liturgical tradition attributed to it, but also can guide us for the discovery of a proper solution to the complex problems that emerge in contemporary liturgical practice. And perhaps these problems that we will encounter below in connection with the three questions raised, and others that will follow, have their roots in the deviations that occurred from the original tradition, especially in this service both as to its theoretical presuppositions and to the liturgical changes that came about as a consequence of these theoretical fluctuations.

Nowadays, as is well known, the service for the forty-day blessing consists of four prayers, or, more precisely, of two pairs of prayers. In Byzantine services, and we can characterize this as a general rule, we often encounter this system for the composition of a service from two prayers, of which the first is the prayer proper and the other a prayer of blessing/inclination. Ordinations, hagiasmoi, marriage, unction, and other instances are examples. If this is presently not obvious at first glance in all these services, it is due to later liturgical development that added other, usually secondary, elements that altered the original simple structure of the majority of these services.

Now, specifically in the service for the forty-day blessing, the existence of two pairs of prayers provides evidence on the one hand for the twofold nature of the service, but on the other hand makes us suspicious from the outset that only one of the pairs must be the original and the other later. We have only to verify the above hypothesis by going back to the manuscript tradition. Indeed, in the most ancient Byzantine Euchologion, which survives in the *Codex Barberini 336* of the eighth century, there is only one prayer, the

888. See also questions 85 and 363.

third of the printed edition ("O Lord our God, who on the fortieth day…"),[889] which is entitled, "A prayer when a child enters the church on the fortieth day from its birth."[890] A great many and, indeed, the oldest codices contain only this prayer with a similar title ("for the churching of a child,"[891] "for the forty day blessing of a child,"[892] "a prayer for when a child enters the church with its mother at the forty days,"[893] and so forth). The prayer of inclination that follows the preceding one ("O God, the Father the Pantokratōr…")[894] although it is not encountered in all and, indeed, the most ancient codices, constitutes together with it one of the pairs, namely, the second one, and they have a unified theme. The subject of them both is the bringing of the baby into the temple, according to the model of the Lord, where His Virgin[895] Mother brought him to the temple in Jerusalem "to present him to the Lord," consistent with the relevant provisions of the Mosaic law (Luke 2:22ff.). The prayers constitute blessings of the baby and entreaties on its behalf, which by "imitation" of the Lord is brought into the temple and is dedicated to God. This is the obvious aim of the service, which is stated not only in the text of the prayers, but also by the titles of the service, some of which, as they are encountered in the manuscripts, we mentioned above. The child enters the church, and it is the one that "completes the forty days,"[896] not its mother. The mother accompanies the baby and is blessed together with it ("together with

889. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις…" Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Euchologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 113.2.

890. "Εὐχὴ ὅτε εἰσέρχεται παιδίον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῇ μ΄ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ." Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Euchologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 113.1.

891. "εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιάσαι παιδίον."

892. "εἰς τὸ σαραντίσαι παιδίον."

893. "εὐχὴ εἰσερχομένου τοῦ παιδίου μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς μ΄ ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ."

894. "Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ παντοκράτωρ…"

895. "ἀπειρόγαμος" (Lampe, s.v. " ἀπειρόγαμος").

896. "σαραντίζει."

the parents and sponsors").[897] It should be noted that the blessing includes both parents (also compare Luke 2:34, "and he blessed them"). Likewise, it is worthy of our particular attention that the reference to sacred history, which gives the theological fortification and meaning of the Christian practice, does not refer to the provisions of Leviticus concerning the purification of the woman, but only to the example of the Lord. The mother is not considered unclean, nor is her liturgical purification sought.

Likewise, we must point out that the child is, without any doubt, unbaptized. Both prayers presuppose that its entrance into the temple is done for the first time, and ask for it to be made worthy of holy baptism "at a suitable time."[898] Indeed, in some manuscripts, petitions are also inserted that refer to the baby being deemed worthy to commune of the undefiled mysteries ("and obtaining the portion of your elect, may also become a communicant of the precious Body and Blood of your Christ, being guarded by the grace of the holy, consubstantial, and undivided Trinity").[899] Moreover, the prayers of the first day, of the eighth, and of the fortieth present a progressive character and are essentially integrated among the prebaptismal actions. The escalation is obvious: on the first day, the baby is blessed and its arrival into the world is welcomed; on the eighth day, it receives the name and is already characterized as a "servant of Christ" and a "Christian"; and on the fortieth day, it enters the temple of God, and "appears" and is offered to Him. Catechism, exorcisms, baptism, chrismation, and holy communion follow as actions for completion of the new Christian. Otherwise, if the child is already baptized, not only is the progressive series of the

897. "ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ ἀναδόχοις."

898. "ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ."

899. "καὶ τυχὼν [τυχοῦσα] τῆς μερίδος τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου, κοινωνὸς γένηται καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, φυλαττόμενος [φυλαττομένη] τῇ χάριτι τῆς ἁγίας, ὁμοουσίου καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου Τριάδος." Phountoulēs only partially quoted this section of the prayer. The additional phrases are included for clarity. The entire prayer may be found in *Σχηματολόγιον περιέχον τὰς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, τῆς μοναχικῆς κούρας, ὡς καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἑσπερινοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς*, vol. 2 of *Εὐχολόγιον*, ed. Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Σίμωνος Πέτρας (Ἅγιον Ὄρος: Ἔκδοσις Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας, 2018), 31.

prebaptismal actions broken up, but also the offering of the baby on the fortieth day loses it meaning, where at that time "revealing it as an offering to God"[900] "it is offered as a gift to God,"[901] according to Symeōn of Thessaloniki (*Dialogue*, chapter 60).[902] Symeōn himself notes that thereafter the baby belongs to the order of catechumens ("In consequence then . . . the baby is a catechumen").[903] The fact that the service of the forty-day blessing normally precedes holy baptism and belongs to the prebaptismal rites is also seen both from the phrase that concludes the baptismal actions and which, according to many manuscripts, also includes the churching, namely, the forty-day blessing of the child: "You have been churched, you have been baptized, you have been illumined...."[904]

Indeed, according to the prevailing custom, children were baptized after the completion of the forty days from their birth. As we can gather from an answer of Petros the Chartophylax[905] to a re-

900. "δηλῶν ὡς ἀνάθημα τοῦτο Θεῷ." PG 155:212b. Additional phrases from the text were added to make the citation clear.

901. "ὡς δῶρον Θεῷ προσκομίζεται." PG 155:209d.

902. The mistaken reference to chapter 20 is corrected in the translation to 60.

903. PG 155:212b.

904. "Ἐκκλησιάσθης, ἐβαπτίσθης, ἐφωτίσθης..."

905. Canonical questions and answers such as those of Petros the Chartophylax are considered canonical legislation but are not part of the formal corpus of the received canons of the Orthodox Church (from the Holy Apostles, ecumenical councils, local councils, and patristic texts regarded as having canonical authority). They are limited in their authority and reliant on their acceptance or endorsement by hierarchs and, ultimately, local or autocephalous Churches as applying the canons in an acceptable manner to problems and circumstances that arise with some frequency. Little is known concerning Petros the Chartophylax. There are two versions of the ecclesiastical responses attributed to him, sixteen of which contain similar material. The date 1087 appears in the title of one version. This author also appears to be the addressee of a letter of Theophylaktos (Hēphaistos) of Ochrid dated between 1095–1106. In addition, the inscription, "O Theotokos, help your servant Petros deacon and chartophylax," appears on several Byzantine seals dated eleventh/twelfth century. For additional information, see H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literature im byzantinischen Reich* (München: C. H. Beck'sche, 1959), 659. The two versions of the canonical responses attributed to him are published in Vladimir Benešević, "Отвѣты Петра Хартофилакса," Записки императорской академии наукъ, vol. VIII no. 14 St. Petersburg 1909. The version dated 1087 is also published in Rhallēs and Potlēs, 5:369–373 and PG

lated question ("Within how long a time ought the child be baptized?"),[906] only when the baby was sick was it baptized immediately ("if it is sick, there is no restriction, but it is baptized immediately"), but otherwise, the baptism took place after the fortieth day ("but if it is healthy, at forty days"). The relevant standard rubric that exists both in the printed Euchologia and in different variations also in manuscripts, states the same thing with other words, according to which, "if the baby when born perhaps being weak does not nurse, but turns towards death, it is not necessary to wait...but at the hour in which it was born, only to be washed and to be immediately baptized, lest it not expire unillumined" (See also *Novel 17* of Leōn the Wise).[907] If this exceptional reason did not arise, it goes without saying that the norm would be for it to be baptized later, namely, after the service for the forty-day blessing, according to the sequence that the Euchologion has for the prebaptismal services.

During the service of the forty-day blessing, after the reading of the one original prayer or the two above, the baby was brought into the sanctuary regardless of gender. Neither the prayers nor the standard rubrics of the manuscripts make a distinction between male and female in accordance with the apostolic "neither male nor female" (Gal 3:28), just as a similar distinction is also not made in baptism and in any other service whatsoever. The entrance not only of the female babies, but also of women, into the holy bēma to com-

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119:1093a–1097b, which reproduce the text of I. Leunclavius, *Iuris Graeco-Romani tam canonici quam civilis tomi duo* (Frankfurt: Petrus Fischer,1596; reprint Farnborough: Greg International, 1971), 1:395–397. The mention in the letter of Theophylaktos may be found in Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid* (London: Routledge, 1997), 329. For the Byzantine seals, see Dumbarton Oaks Collection, https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.4995, https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1947.2.291, and https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.4995 (accessed January 21, 2021).

906. Rhallēs and Potlēs, 5:369. This question is listed as first in the version of the text published in Rhallēs and Potlēs, but second in Benešević, 4.

907. Leōn the Wise, *Novel 17* in *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage*, ed. and trans. P. Noailles and A. Dain (Paris: Sociéte' d'édition, "Les belles lettres," 1944), 62–69. The text cited is not taken from the Novel.

mune of the undefiled mysteries is attested to in the practice of the early church by the *Canons of Hippolytus* (canon 19, 143)[908] and by the second canon of Dionysios of Alexandria.[909] Balsamōn also con-

908. "Quando autem finivit, communicat populum stans ad mensam [corporis et sanguinis domini nostri]," Hans Achelis, ed. and trans., *Die Canones Hippolyti*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur 6.4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1891), 19.143. Phountoulēs references the Latin translation of canon 19 in an earlier edited text. The later critical edition is René-Georges Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte, Édition Critique de la Version Arabe, Introduction et Traduction Française*, Patrologia Orientalis 31.2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cle, Éditeurs, 1966), where the French translation of the same passage reads, "Lorsqu'il a achevé, il communie le people, lui-même étrant depout près de la table du corps et du sang du Seigneur..." (115, 383). The *Canons of Hippolytus* is a collection of thirty canons only surviving in an Arabic translation from a lost Coptic version, ultimately based on a lost Greek original. Recent scholarship views the *Canons* as an early fourth century work produced in Egypt by a presbyter. It is also thought to be an early derivative of the *Apostolic Tradition* also attributed to Hippolytus (c. 170 – c. 235) the bishop of Rome. The work is not part of the formal corpus of the canons received by the Orthodox Church. This discussion is based on David Bradshaw, ed., and Carol Bebawi, trans., *The Canons of Hippolytus*, Gorgias Liturgical Studies 7 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), where the same passage in English translation reads, "When he was finished, he communicates the people, he himself standing near the table of the Body and Blood of the Lord..." (24).

909. Saint Dionysios of Alexandria (d. 264–265) is attributed four canons that are derived from his letter to Basileidēs of Pentapolis. The canon states, "Concerning women in menstruation, whether they ought to enter the house of God in such a state, I think it superfluous even to put the question. For, I think, not even they themselves, being faithful and pious, would dare when in this state either to approach the holy table or to touch the Body and Blood of Christ. For not even the woman with twelve years' issue would come into actual contact with Him, but only with the edge of His garment, to be cured. There is no objection to one's praying no matter how she may be or to one's remembering the Lord at any time and in any state whatever and petitioning to receive help; but if one is not wholly pure both in soul and in body, she shall be prevented from coming up to the Holy of Holies." Translation adapted from D. Cummings, trans., *The Rudder (Pedalion) of the Metaphorical Ship of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the Orthodox Christians, or all the sacred and divine canons of the holy and renowned apostles, of the holy councils, ecumenical as well as regional, and of the individual divine Fathers, as embodied in the original Greek text, for the sake of authenticity, and explained in the vernacular by way of rendering them more intelligible to the less educated by Agapius, A Hieromonach and Nicodemus, a monk and diligently redacted at the instance of His Superlative All-Holiness and of the Sacred and Holy Synod by Seignior Dorotheus, and Erudite*

firms it in his commentary on the above canon: "it seems long ago that women entered the altar and partook from the holy table."[910] Of the known manuscripts, only one, *Sinai 968* from the fifteenth century, makes a distinction between genders, and, according to it, the male baby is brought into the bēma and the female is not, just as it became prevalent to also be done nowadays, obviously from the era of the Tourkokratia.[911] The manuscripts of about the same era or even later present an intermediate taxis (see *Athens 662, 664,* and *667*). According to it, babies of both genders are brought into the bēma but when the priest churches the female baby, he does not pass from the front of the holy table, but only from the back and sides, as we saw in the answer to question 363.

The meaning of the baby's entrance into the sanctuary is precisely that which we saw Symeōn of Thessaloniki attributes to it, and which is also transparent in both the two prayers above and the actions that accompany the forty-day blessing. The infant "is offered" to God as "a gift" and "an offering." Where else would the gift be offered to God than at His altar? This precisely also explains the

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Teacher and Preacher, first printed and published (AD 1800) by permission and exhortation and order of the Superlatively All-Holy and Ecumenical Patriarch and of the Holy Synod, under the supervision of Theodoret (Ath.) of Ioannina, one among the hieromonachs. The whole now faithfully translated into English from the fifth edition published by John Nicolaides (Kesioglou the Caesarean) in Athens, Greece 1908 (Chicago: The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1983), 718.

910. "ὡς ἔοικε τὸ παλαιὸν εἰσήρχοντο γυναῖκες εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης μετελάμβανον." Rhallēs and Potlēs, 4:9. Theodōros Balsamōn lived in the last half of the twelfth century. He was a deacon of the Great Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, chartophylax, nomophylax, prōtos of the Monastery of Blachernai, and patriarch of Antioch. Balsamōn was given an imperial and patriarchal mandate under Emperor Manouēl I Komnēnos (r. 1143–1180) and Ecumenical Patriarch Michaēl III (r. 1170–1178) to produce commentaries on the *Nomokanōn in 14 Titles* and the late Byzantine church's received corpus of formal canonical legislation belonging to the latter work. Other canonical works, including the authorship of formal decisions of the Holy Synod of Constantinople, are attributed to Balsamōn. For additional information, see Patrick Viscuso, *Guide for a Church under Islam: The Sixty-Six Canonical Questions Attributed to Theodōros Balsamōn* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2014).

911. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

entrance of all babies into the holy bēma, irrespective of gender. It has no relationship to the priesthood, which is reserved to men. This is about an act of offering a new human being to God; and there does not exist a distinction and preference of gender for God and for Christianity. We are all "one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28), partakers of the same good things, and inheritors of the same promises.

How now is it possible for unbaptized babies to enter the temple and the sanctuary? To begin with, the entrance of unbaptized persons into the temple is not forbidden. The catechumens and those preparing for illumination, who, naturally, were not yet baptized, not only came into the temple, but also attended the common prayer and teaching, both during the evening and morning synaxes, and the celebration itself of the Divine Liturgy up until the petitions for them after the ektenēs, when they were also dismissed. After the readings and the sermon, and prior to the catechumens, according to the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the "hearers"[912] were dismissed, who were non-Christians sympathizing with Christianity, namely, not even catechumens. The example of the idolatrous Slavs is also well known from history, where the attendance of the sacred rites in Saint Sophia of Constantinople became a cause of their conversion to Christianity. The notions about Satan being found in the hearts of unbaptized babies are definitely exaggerated. Children, where even one of their parents is a Christian, are characterized by the apostle Paul, not as "unclean," but as "holy" (1 Cor 7:14). For this reason, they are also brought into the holy bēma. Moreover, the forty-day blessing of babies, as we noted elsewhere, is not done during the time of the celebration of the Divine Liturgy (see the answer to question 85).

In any event, Symeōn of Thessaloniki, himself alone, attests that only baptized children, again regardless of gender, were brought into the sanctuary during his era (*Dialogue,* chapter 60).[913] However, the fact this was inconsistent with older practice is seen not only from what we wrote previously regarding the time for the celebration of baptism, the integration of the forty-day blessing into the series of

912. "ἀκροώμενοι" (Lampe, s.v. "ἀκροάμαι").
913. PG 155:212b.

prebaptismal rites, and the content of the prayers themselves, but also from Symeōn's characterization itself of the children who have completed the forty days as "catechumens."

The answer to the third question is both easy and most difficult. Easy, because the modern Small Euchologion of the 1954 Rome edition, volume 1, pages 7–12, proposes a solution that perhaps is the only one viable under the present circumstances.[914] According to it, the service for the forty-day blessing normally is done "on the fortieth day" from birth, whether the baby is baptized or unbaptized. However, some changes are made to those points in the prayers at which there are references to the future baptism of the child. Thus, from the first prayer, which together with the second one constitutes the first pair of prayers that refer to the purification of the mother, regarding which we make mention in the next answer, the phrase "so that it might also be deemed worthy of the noetic light at a time that you determined and be numbered with your holy flock"[915] is omitted. The second prayer remains just as it is. From the third prayer, namely, the original first prayer of the second pair, the phrase "so that it be deemed worthy of holy baptism"[916] is converted to "so that through holy baptism of which it has been deemed worthy."[917] Regarding the fourth prayer, there exists the rubric, "And again one must know that if the child was baptized, we do not say the prayer 'O God, the Father the Pantokratōr…,' or we omit 'and deem it worthy at a time…'[918] up to 'by the name of your Christ.'[919]" The entrance into the temple next follows, as usual, and if the child is a male, the bringing into the altar, regardless of whether baptized or not, but if it is female, up until the beautiful gates, as we saw, according to the modern practice.

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914. *Ἁγιασματάριον, Τὰ Μυστήρια* (Ῥώμη: Ἱερὰ Μονὴ τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης, 1954), 1:7–12.

915. "ἵνα καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ καταξιωθῇ φωτὸς ἐν καιρῷ ᾧ ὥρισας καὶ συγκαταριθμηθῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ποίμνῃ."

916. "ἵνα καταξιωθὲν τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος"

917. "ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος οὗ κατηξιώθη."

918. "καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸ ἐν καιρῷ."

919. "τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου."

I do not know where the editors of this generally reliable edition based themselves to bring about these necessary changes to the service of the forty-day blessing for the text of the prayers to be adapted, in a reasonable application, to the possible case of a baptized child. However, from what we know, such a provision for the change of the texts does not exist in known manuscripts. The printed editions of Great or Small Euchologia, up until the 1972 edition of the Apostolikē Diakonia's Small Euchologion, follow the same line. However, here, something strange happens. On the one hand, the changes to the prayers of Rome's edition of the Small Euchologion are adopted, but on the other hand, the rubric is added that if the child is baptized, a dismissal takes place after the first pair of prayers. Namely, the second pair of prayers and the churching of the baby are omitted ("Here, if the baby was baptized, or even died, the priest does a dismissal"). In an older edition of the Small Euchologion from the publishing house of M. Saliveros, edited by E. Skarpas (Athens, n.d.), "if the child might be baptized," the omission of the above phrases of the first, third, and fourth prayers that refer to baptism is proposed for the first time, at least as far as I know.[920]

The solutions that are given for this issue by the Small Euchologia of Rome/Apostolikē Diakonia (1972) and Skarpas/Saliveros are on the one hand logical, but I fear that they are not correct, namely, not consistent with tradition. In the first place, the performance of the forty-day blessing after baptism, as we saw, is something in reverse order, and this is why the prayers are written for unbaptized babies. However, what if it happens that for reasons of necessity baptism precedes the forty-day blessing? We saw that Symeōn alone speaks regarding baptized children for whom the forty-day blessing is performed. It is very likely that also later, namely, during the period of the Tourkokratia, the forty-day blessing was again also celebrated for baptized children, perhaps without any change to the texts of the prayers since theoretical speculations of such a kind are

920. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον ἢ Ἁγιασματάριον τὸ Μέγα: περιέχον ἀκολουθίας & εὐχὰς ἐκλεχθείσας ἐκ τοῦ Μεγάλου Εὐχολογίου ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιστασίᾳ Πρωτοσυγκέλλου Εὐσταθίου Α. Σκάρπα* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, n.d.), 240, n. 1.

not common in periods of conservatism. The service was found in the Euchologion and needed to be performed according to the taxis, just as also for example the service of betrothal. Even if essentially its benediction is not permitted for various reasons, it was attached to marriage and was performed—and is performed—for purely formal reasons.

From the evidence of the manuscripts, it appears that in an era where form was not yet airtight, but conformed with essence, they followed a different approach.[921] Thus, the rubric of the *Codex Megistēs Lavras Θ 88* from the fifteenth century is characteristic, according to which when perchance babies were baptized for various reasons prior to the fortieth day, the performance of the forty-day blessing was also accelerated. Namely, the service of the forty-day blessing was performed first, even earlier than the forty-day provision prescribed for normal circumstances, and afterwards the service of holy baptism. This rubric is very important, and for this reason we also quote it whole: "One must know that these three prayers [the codex has the first pair and the third prayer only—namely, it leaves out the fourth], even if perhaps the child came already to be baptized within forty days, are said upon it and its mother prior to baptism, also in the presence of the one about to receive this child from holy baptism; the service of catechumens and of illumination is next immediately done if the one who has the child might wish, but if he desires, he extends even more time for additional growth of the child." We find a somewhat different taxis in other manuscripts and in Symeōn of Thessaloniki. Here, despite the fact that the forty-day blessing is added, as usual, to the service of holy baptism, and Symeōn indeed also speaks regarding its performance for an already baptized baby, we see that in the same service of baptism, specifically between the final prebaptismal prayer "O Master, Lord our God, call your servant..."[922] and the enarxis, in this case,

921. The meaning of this use of the word "essence" (οὐσία) is illustrated by the citation of a text from question 384: "In these instances of conflict between essence and form (οὐσίας καὶ τύπου), we keep the essence, the offering of the baby to God, and not the form of the forty days. If essence and form come together, this is optimal."

922. "Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, προσκάλεσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου..."

of the service of baptism itself—namely, of the baptismal Divine Liturgy—the churching of the baby/catechumen is inserted: "After receiving the child, the priest churches it, while also chanting the troparion, 'Hail, full of grace, O Virgin Theotokos....'[923] And he says this three times. He places the child in front of the holy doors, and the sponsor, who makes three prostrations, picks up the child." And Symeōn, more fully: "And so laying hold of this catechumen by the hand, like finding the one who was lost, he leads him into the temple. . . showing that he offers him to the Master who had lost him. Representing the joy...while singing he says 'Hail, full of grace, O Virgin Theotokos' and enters... And the hierarch, when representing the works of Symeōn,[924] leads the one being baptized before the altar like Symeōn offered. And he makes him prostrate three times to God... And the hierarch calls the sponsor and tells him to make three prostrations to the altar...Next, if the one who is about to be baptized is a baby, the sponsor who is before the holy doors, then bending forward takes him" (*Dialogue*, chapter 62).[925] I have seen this done nowadays by some priests, according to old tradition.

The fact that Symeōn and the aforementioned codices also simultaneously contain both the service of the forty-day blessing during the fortieth day, as well as the churching of the infant during the service of baptism, does not necessarily imply that this constitutes an act of churching that is unrelated to the forty-day blessing. This solution out of necessity, namely, the performance of the forty-day blessing together with baptism prior to the fortieth day, could easily be incorporated into the usual normal service, without always making the initial distinction[926] that precipitated it to be done.

The weak points in the hypothesis above are that during the forty-day blessing within the service of baptism, we do not see the reading of the relevant prayers for the forty-day blessing of the baby attested to, namely, the third and the fourth prayers or even the third

923. "Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη Θεοτόκε παρθένε..."

924. The Symeōn in Luke 2:25–35.

925. PG 155:220c–220d.

926. Phountoulēs is stating that the celebration of the forty-day blessing and the baptism can be done together without the distraction of counting days as a point of reference.

alone, and that, apart from only the sponsor, the mother does not appear at all. Regarding the first point, it could be countered that perhaps they did not consider the reading of the prayers necessary, given that the act of churching was done, and the whole service into which it was inserted made up for the lack of the prayer. As for the absence of the mother, it is quite reasonable for us to assume that she did not take part in the service of the churching of the baby, because she had not yet completed the forty-day time for her purification. On the fortieth day, she would complete the forty days alone, when they would read the first two prayers for her, and the dismissal would be done. The service for the forty-day blessing provides this possibility, because it consists of two independent or even semi-independent sections. In any event, it is very unlikely that the mother who had not completed the forty days came into the temple bringing her already baptized child, since the strictest legislation, just as we will see in the next answer, did not even permit her to touch nor even nurse it.

Based on all we wrote it seemed, I think, that the most correct answer to the third question is that which we saw in the manuscripts. Namely, if the baptism is performed by necessity prior to the completion of the forty days, the forty-day blessing of the baby either precedes the service of holy baptism—when, by oikonomia, the time for the mother's forty-day blessing is also shortened (the manuscript expressly states that the prayers are read "also over its mother"), or incorporated into the service of baptism according to the above model, and succinctly performed between the catechesis and the service of baptism proper. The fact that the service for the forty days will be done prior to forty days will be the only formal disadvantage, one not so important in the face of the contradiction presented by the performance of the forty-day blessing after baptism.

382

In the case of the death of a woman in childbed, is the placement of the remains permitted in the nave in order that the funeral service might be chanted as usual, or in the narthēx?

383

For a woman in childbed who died before she might complete the forty days, which prayers shall the priest read for her to be admitted into the temple and the funeral service to be chanted?

In continuation of what we wrote in the response to the three previous questions, before we get to the response to the two above, we ought to note a few things regarding the first part of the service of the forty-day blessing, namely, the first pair of prayers that relate to the mother of the child. Both these prayers are later. They are not encountered in the manuscripts before the eleventh century and are influenced by the legislation of Leviticus concerning the impurity of a woman after childbirth. Now, whether these apply in the Christian Church, and to what extent, is not within the competence of the author to answer. Also unanswered is the question as to why only the woman is considered unclean and also not her husband responsible for the birth of the child.

In any case, despite the later introduction of these prayers into our Euchologia, nowadays they are in use and, probably from popular influence, overshadowed the original purpose of the service of the forty-day blessing, and influenced even its title in many later manuscripts, which, from a service or a prayer for the forty-day blessing or the churching of the baby, became a service for the forty-day blessing or the churching of the mother.

To what excesses certain such perception also reached, one can also conclude from "canon thirty-eight of Saint Nikēphoros," according to which, if the baby was baptized before the forty-day blessing, another woman "who has been baptized and clean" ought to nurse it.[927] It was not permitted for the mother of the child either

927. Saint Nikēphoros I the Confessor of Constantinople (r. 806–815) resisted Iconoclasm and is credited with the authorship of theological and historical

to go into the baby's nursery or even touch it "until the fortieth day, on the condition that she also receives complete purification from the priest's prayer." However, fortunately, similar notions were not accepted by all without protest, as it appears from the answer of Petros the Chartophylax, who considers necessary the nursing of the baptized baby by its mother who has not completed the forty days, "lest [the child] does not perish."[928] In a footnote to the canon above, the position taken by Blessed Nikodēmos of the Holy Mountain is also analogous.[929]

One of these unacceptable extremes is that which the questions above pose. The first two prayers of the forty-day blessing seek the purification of the woman, who is living and not dead. Their reading to her dead body and the offering of petitions to God for the restoration of her health, in order that she might be deemed worthy to enter the temple of the Lord and partake of the mysteries, would be beyond all logic.

If the Old Testament legislation concerning purity and impurity is also highlighted again, we need only remember that not only women who have not completed forty days, but the dead themselves are considered unclean by the Mosaic legislation, along with those who touched the dead, the home in which a person died, and those who came into it—even the vessels in the house for seven days (Num 19:11ff.).

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works (*ODB*, 3:1477). According to modern scholarship, it is doubtful that he authored the canons traditionally associated with his name, see Hans Georg Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literature im Byzantinischen Reich* (München: C. H. Beck'sche, 1959), 490–491. The canon cited appears in several textual variants. Phountoulēs numbered the canon as thirty-eight, which matches the version found in Rhallēs and Potlēs, 4:431. Compare also the text in PG 100:861d–864a.

928. Rhallēs and Potlēs, 5:372; Benešević, 10.

929. Ἀγάπιος Ιερομόναχος (Λεονάρδος) καὶ Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης, *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς τῆς μιᾶς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγοπούλου, 1982), 731, n. 2, where the canon attributed to Saint Nikēphoros is also numbered thirty-seven, and a reference in the note is made to the canon of Petros the Chartophylax.

I do not think that the reminder of the recommendations of the apostle Paul would be irrelevant to the questions above and to other similar ones, that Christians do not pay attention to "Jewish myths and commandments of men" because "to the pure all things are pure, but to the defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure, but their minds and consciences are defiled" (Titus 1:14–15). Those things that pollute a person and prevent him or her from worshiping the living God are neither the dead, nor the natural functions of the human body, but dead works, which defile our conscience (Heb 9:14).

384

In the case of a baby that at the time of its birth has a need of confinement for treatment beyond forty days, when does it receive the forty-day blessing and how? Separately or with its mother?

As we saw, the service of the forty-day blessing for a baby has as a purpose its entrance into the temple of the Lord to be offered as a "gift" to God. Consequently, it is inconceivable for this to be celebrated outside of the temple, in the home, in the clinic, or anywhere else. The churching of the child is not a rite done simply out of custom, but an essential liturgical action. However, if the baby is confined for treatment or is even ill, naturally it would not only be impossible, but also inhuman for it to be brought into the temple with an immediate danger for its health. I would say the same for the case where weather conditions in the winter season are especially unfavorable and inappropriate for the infant's leaving from the home. The number of forty days from birth is certainly a sacred number of days, sanctified by the Lord's action and the Church's tradition, and under normal circumstances the service of the forty-day blessing is performed on precisely forty days from the birth of the child. However, we must not forget that the practice of the Church is preeminently philanthropic, and has the person in view, not the Sabbath, which was made for humanity and not humanity for the Sabbath (Mark 2:27). The number forty is not magical, but symbolic. For extraordinary reasons, the deferral of its forty-day blessing or even

its acceleration, as we saw in the previous answers, is self-evident. In these instances of conflict between essence and form, we keep the essence, the offering of the baby to God, and not the form of the forty days. If essence and form come together, this is optimal.

I think that it is reasonable for the same thing to apply vice versa, namely, if the mother of the baby is impeded for reasons of health from coming into the temple on the fortieth day. The baby and mother would then be churched a little later, according to oikonomia.

But if the recovery of the health of the baby or the mother is delayed, nothing prevents the service's celebration separately for the mother and separately for the baby. Then, in the first case, only the first two prayers would be read, and a dismissal would be done, but in the second, the next two prayers and the churching of the baby would be done. The service of the forty-day blessing, as we saw, consists of two parts, the first of which concerns the woman and the second the child. However, perhaps it would be preferable in a case of need for its celebration to be postponed, and to be celebrated later at the same time for both, and this for the avoidance of confusion.

385

Some women are coming to the priest twenty days after giving birth and requesting a "half-forty-day blessing."[930] What must we do in this instance?

The ancient ecclesiastical practice did not know comparable prayers, aside only from the prayers of the eighth and fortieth days, where the first concerns name-giving, and the second the churching of the baby. When Old Testament notions of impurity afterwards returned, an entire system of prayers was developed for the first and fortieth days that concern the purification of the woman in childbed. We have spoken regarding these things in past and recent answers.

However, the prayer of the eighth day did not remain unaffected from similar elements. Thus, in manuscripts that were written around the fifteenth century (*Athens 94, S. 724; Koutloumousiou 341*;

930. "μισὸ σαραντισμό."

Metochiou Pan. Taphou Kōnstantinoupoleōs 8/182; *Pantokratoros 149*; *Patmos 689*; *Patriarchate of Alexandria 1070/207*; *Sinai 968, 988*, and others), a tendency for the development of this prayer into a service is observed, with the addition of elements that originate either from the service for a woman in childbed or from the forty-day blessing. Thus, among others, a prayer is also added according to some manuscripts that concerns the midwife, who brought the child to the temple and who was considered impure, and according to others the mother of the child. This prayer is usually inscribed, "A prayer for the eight-day purification"[931] or "for purification of a woman on the eighth day from her birthing"[932] or "for the midwife,"[933] and begins with the phrase "O Lord, our God [or O Lord Master, the God of our fathers], the true bread of life...."[934] The same prayer, independent from the service of the eighth day, is encountered in some manuscripts with the title, "A prayer for a woman in childbed twenty or fifteen days,"[935] and was published in the Euchologion of J. Goar, second edition, Venice, 1730, p. 264,[936] and was inserted from there into the printed edition of the Great Euchologion of M. Saliveros (edited by N. Papadopoulos), Athens 1927, p. 521.[937] In the text of the prayer, a general reference is made to the purification and sanctification that God granted to the faithful by "incarnate economy,"[938] and it requests the purification of the woman in childbed (or of the midwife) from the "bodily defilement"[939] that came upon her, in order for the dough of her hands to be sanctified, and for her to be able "without impediment"[940] to feed her household members. In the opening text of the prayer, there is the phrase

931. "Εὐχὴ τῆς ὀκταημέρου καθάρσεως."
932. "εἰς κάθαρσιν γυναικὸς τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτῆς."
933. "εἰς τὴν μαίαν."
934. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν [ἢ Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν], ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς..."
935. "Εὐχὴ εἰς γυναῖκα λεχὼ εἴκοσι ἢ δεκαπέντε ἡμερῶν."
936. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, 264.
937. Ν. Π. Παπαδόπουλος, ed., *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1927), 521. The page is incorrectly cited as 513.
938. "ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας."
939. "σωματικὸν μολυσμόν."
940. "ἀνεμποδίστως."

"by the eight-day purification,"[941] which is adapted to "twenty-day purification"[942] in the case of the prayer's use in the novel service of twenty days. Obviously, the time of forty days, during which the woman in childbed was considered impure, appeared excessive, that during it the woman was not able to perform her housework and, in particular, to knead the bread for her home and also for it not to be impure. Thus is the intent in our liturgical tradition for the prayer of the "half-forty-day blessing."

I have the opinion that, since this anachronistic service did not find a place in our official liturgical texts, the best thing we must do is for us to let it be forgotten. If any woman requests something like this, let the priest congratulate her since by the power of God she gave birth to a child and a prospective member of Church of Christ and let him pray for a complete restoration of her health, and let him explain to her with love that the blessing of the first day and the thanksgiving service of the fortieth day are sufficient, according to the correct practice and tradition of the Church.

386

Some priests use two Gospel books during the performance of a baptism or a wedding. The one on the table and they say, "Blessed is the kingdom . . . ," and the other on the holy table, from which they read the gospel reading. Is it correct for two Gospel books to be used for the same mystery?

Perhaps this is done for practical reasons, since outside they use the small-format Gospel book as more practical, but they read the gospel reading from the holy table's large Gospel book for reasons of greater decorum for liturgical performance. I have the opinion that we can neither praise, but nor also condemn this action of theirs. The more natural thing is for the same Gospel book to be used, but without this being an absolute rule. In an earlier answer, we saw an instance of an entrance of the Divine Liturgy with three Gospel books (see the answers to questions 209 and 210) in our liturgical tradition.

941. "διὰ τῆς ὀκταημέρου καθάρσεως."
942. "εἰκοσαημέρου καθάρσεως."

Something similar is also done during the Sunday services, during which, according to the prevailing custom, the eōthinon gospel is read from one Gospel book, which, after being kissed, is placed outside for veneration, and another Gospel book is used during the Divine Liturgy.

In any case, in baptism, provided that the ancient, correct taxis is observed, and the gospel reading is done from the beautiful gate, and not near the baptismal font, the correct thing is for the priest to enter at "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ..."[943] while holding the Gospel book. "As many of you..." has the character of an entrance hymn, and the entrance during it is the (small) entrance of the Divine Liturgy, which was performed at this point—an entrance "with the Gospel book," of course—as long as afterwards the readings and the baptismal Divine Liturgy would follow.

Abandoning the Gospel book outside is disorderly, and even more disorderly and unacceptable is for the sexton[944] or one of the children to return it to the sanctuary.

387

A brother priest claims that the prayer "No one is worthy..."[945] is not said during the Liturgy of Great Saturday, but only "Let all mortal flesh keep silent . . . ,"[946] namely, that the hymn chanted that day instead of the cheroubikon is recited instead of this prayer. Is this correct?

We briefly wrote concerning the prayer "No one is worthy..." when answering question twenty-three, which referred to the meaning of the phrase "these gifts" contained in the prayer in question. At that time, we wrote that this prayer does not belong to the original text of the two Byzantine Liturgies of Basileios the Great and of the sacred Chrysostomos, and that the prayer was added to the text later. This is commonly accepted by all scholars. The matter of its provenance still remains obscure, despite the efforts and theories that were put

943. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε..."
944. "νεωκόρος."
945. "Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος..."
946. "Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ βροτεία..."

forward, namely, whether it was written in Jerusalem, Constantinople, or Alexandria. The prayer's existence in the Alexandrian Liturgy of Saint Grēgorios the Theologian, the fact that the prayer does not refer to God/Father, but to the Son, just as all the prayers of this Liturgy, and the more natural place it holds in the text of that Liturgy speak in favor of the latter hypothesis. Namely, that its reading is provided for after the placing of the precious gifts on the holy table, and consequently its phrase "these gifts" also more correctly corresponds to what is being performed. Namely, it is referring to the gifts that are already found on the altar before which the prayer is read. In any case, it is confirmed that after quite a few fluctuations this prayer, as the celebrant's preparatory prayer for the celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, was first introduced into the Liturgy of Basileios the Great in an era when its text was more receptive to changes and additions than the texts of the Liturgy of the sacred Chrysostomos because the first Liturgy (Basileios the Great) was performed more frequently than the second (Chrysostomos) and for this reason also preceded in the manuscripts. Thus, as "A prayer that the priest does for himself while the cheroubika are said,"[947] the prayer "No one is worthy…" is encountered for the first time in the eighth-century *Codex Barberini 336* (which is the oldest Byzantine Euchologion) only in the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, in other words, not also in the Liturgy of Chrysostomos.[948] Later, in modern manuscripts, we also encounter it in both Liturgies.

All these things have some relationship, though remote, to the question. Namely, since this question comes from the Holy Mountain, where the fathers observe the ancient traditions with the deepest respect and strictness and, on one hand, age-old liturgical customs sometimes survive in their liturgical practice and, on the

947. "Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν χερουβικῶν λεγομένων." Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Euchologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 12.1.

948. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Euchologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 12.2.

other, since they are never willing to make arbitrary omissions in the sacred texts, one could wonder if we have something analogous here. It is well known that the services of the great feasts and especially of Great Week and of Pascha preserve the most ancient liturgical customs due to their conservative nature. Do we also have something similar here? Namely, was the ancient practice preserved? Albeit only in the Liturgy of Great Saturday, or by only certain ones who keep up this tradition? This appears to me completely unlikely, because, as we saw, already during the eighth century, the prayer "No one is worthy..." had entered the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, which of course is celebrated on Great Saturday.

Rather, it must be considered certain that this concerns a misunderstanding, which originated from a misinterpretation of certain standard rubrics or from an unfortunate influence of the Liturgy of the Presanctified. As is well known, after the prayer "No one is worthy...," the cheroubikon, or the hymn chanted instead of it, is recited three times by the celebrants. In the case in question, the Cherubic hymn of Great Saturday ("Let all mortal flesh keep silent...") must be recited three times. Obviously, the relevant standard rubric would insist on this, considering as self-evident that this would be done after the recitation of the prayer, "No one is worthy."

Again, if the omission of the prayer resulted from the thought that the prayer "No one is worthy..." is a prayer of the Cherubic hymn ("Let us who mystically represent..."),[949] and given that the latter is not said, its prayer must also not be said. Question 300 also raised a similar topic, regarding the prayer of the trisagion hymn, when another hymn is chanted instead of the trisagion. It ought to be observed that this prayer is entitled in many later manuscripts as a "Prayer of the Cherubic [hymn]"[950] or "Prayer at the Cherubim,"[951] but its more correct name is that which we saw being proposed in the *Codex Barberini* and in other old manuscripts: "A prayer that the priest does for himself when cheroubika are said"[952] or "A prayer

949. "Οἱ τὰ χερουβίμ..."
950. "Εὐχὴ τοῦ χερουβικοῦ [ὕμνου]."
951. "Εὐχῆ εἰς τὸ χερουβίμ."
952. "Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν χερουβικῶν λεγομένων."

that the priest does by himself when the cheroubikon is sung"[953] or "A prayer that the priest does by himself as the holy gifts come in."[954] Namely, in other words, the prayer "No one is worthy…" is not specifically dependent on the hymn "Let us who mystically…," but is simply said while it is chanted. However, due to the nature of the prayer and of the hymn, they present semantic and textual similarities that are due to the common psalmic background of both, namely, to Psalm 23, the original psalmic antiphon of the cheroubikon.

Prayer	**Cheroubikon**
βασιλεῦς τῆς δόξης… βασιλεῦς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ	βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων
συνδεδεμένων ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς	πᾶσαν νῦν βιοτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν
ἐπουρανίαις δυνάμεσιν… θρόνου χερουβικοῦ… σεραφὶμ Κύριος	οἱ τὰ χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες… ἀγγελικαῖς…τάξεσιν
Prayer	**Cherubic hymn**
King of Glory…king of Israel	king of all
bound by carnal desires and pleasures	now let us lay aside all earthly care
heavenly powers…throne of the Cherubim…Lord of the Seraphim	let us who mystically represent the Cherubim…angelic…hosts

Apart from this, they also have a parallel purpose: while the prayer prepares the priest, the hymn prepares the people for the forthcoming celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist.

If an issue of such a relationship between a hymn and a prayer arose, it ought to apply much more to the Liturgy of Great Thursday, where the hymn chanted in place of the Cherubic hymn, "Of your mystical supper…,"[955] does not present such connections with the prayer. However, conversely, the hymn of Great Saturday "Let all

953. "Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς καθ'ἑαυτὸν τοῦ χερουβικοῦ ᾀδομένου."
954. "Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς καθ'ἑαυτὸν εἰσερχομένων τῶν ἁγίων δώρων."
955. "Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ…"

mortal flesh keep silent…" is an equal parallel with the prayer "No one is worthy…" as regards purpose, meaning, and phrasing, just as the Cherubic hymn (see: "Let all mortal flesh keep silent and stand with fear and trembling, let it give thought to nothing earthly… Lord of lords . . . choirs of angels," and so forth).

But once again, if the rubric that characterizes the prayer "No one is worthy…" as "A prayer of the cherubic hymn" was put forward, it could be countered that, the hymn "Let us who mystically…" (namely, the "cheroubikon" *par excellence*, or the "mystical" or "the mystical hymn") is not alone named "Cherubic hymn" in the manuscripts and other sources, but also all of the hymns chanted in place of it ("Now the powers of the heavens…,"[956] "Let all mortal flesh…"), without there being a scrupulous distinction in the use of the term.

Finally, we said that the omission of the prayer "No one is worthy" on Great Saturday likely came from the unfortunate influence of a parallel practice in the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. There, as is well known, we do not have a prayer during the Cherubic hymn, but only the triple recitation of the hymn chanted instead of the Cherubic hymn, "Now the powers of heavens…," although in certain manuscripts a parallel preparatory prayer is also encountered here. However, here, the omission of the prayer is not owed to the fact that the Cherubic hymn "Let us who mystically…" is not chanted, but to another substantive reason. The Liturgy of the Presanctified is not a Liturgy, an offering and consecration of the precious gifts, namely, a celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, but only a communion. Consequently, the priest—and the people—do not have a need for preparation regarding the celebration of the mystery, as in the complete Divine Liturgy—given that it will not be celebrated—but preparation for approaching holy communion, which indeed exists both in the hymn "Now the powers…" chanted instead of the cheroubikon ("let us come forward with faith and desire that we may become partakers of eternal life")[957] and in this Liturgy's

956. "Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν…"

957. The full hymn reads, "Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἀοράτως λατρεύουσιν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Ἰδοὺ θυσία μυστικὴ

prayers after the entry of the Presanctified Gifts. Perhaps, a mistaken piety of priests placed even here the prayer of the Cherubic hymn, or other similar prayers, as we saw. For this reason, also, the standard rubrics in many manuscripts clearly and categorically forbid this, noting: "a prayer of the cheroubikon is not said." However, in the complete Liturgy—and, consequently, in the Liturgy of Great Saturday—matters are entirely different. The priest prepares to celebrate the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, and the liturgical tradition already prescribed the prayer, "No one is worthy," from the eighth century onwards as preparatory for the sacred-service of the mystery, which is mandatorily said at every complete Liturgy, whether it is that of the sacred Chrysostomos or of Basileios the Great, whether it is celebrated on Great Saturday or on any other day whatsoever.

388

The old-time priests always read the Ninth Hour prior to Vespers, and the Midnight Office prior to Matins. However, many younger priests omit them and begin Vespers or Matins immediately, indeed, without "Heavenly King . . ."[958] and the trisagion. Which is the more correct taxis?

If we wished to give a simple answer to the question above, we would not have but reminded that the Typikon in use, which, indeed, is refreshed every year with the well-known publication of the *Calendar-Typikon of the Church of Greece*,[959] provides for the celebration of the Ninth Hour every day prior to Vespers, and of the Midnight Office prior to Matins. Consequently, their omission, since it is not consistent with this, is disorderly and reprehensible.

However, the solution of the problem is not found there, and this is because the whole matter of the ecclesiastical Typikon is an "open" matter, not only in our era, but for centuries, and has connections to formally unsolved theoretical and traditional/historical

τετελειωμένη δορυφορεῖται· πίστει καὶ πόθῳ προσέλθωμεν, ἵνα μέτοχοι ζωῆς αἰωνίου γενώμεθα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα."

958. "Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε..."

959. *Ἡμερολόγιον-Τυπικὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*

problems that directly influence it. And for us to become clearer: it is well known that, for centuries now, the ancient parish or secular taxis of the services of the daily cycle has been abandoned, and that the Jerusalemite monastic Typikon, the so-called one of Saint Sabas, was also gradually adopted by secular churches. Thus, nowadays in the parish temples and in the monasteries, at least in theory, the same Typikon applies, the monastic one, and the number of services and their taxis are also prescribed according to it, namely, the internal arrangement of their content. Anyone can recognize what these services are, what their taxis is, and what the normal sequence of their celebration is if one studies the liturgical books that contain their fixed and alternating elements (Hōrologion, Psalter, Paraklētikē, Triōdion, Pentēkostarion, Mēnaia), which are all monastic; and lives them in practice as they must strictly be celebrated on the Holy Mountain and in certain other monasteries (Patmos and others), where they observe the ancient monastic Typika with precision.

Thus, not only must the Ninth Hour be celebrated prior to Vespers, but the First Hour also must be done after Matins, as well as the Third and Sixth Hours prior to the Divine Liturgy. But even the assigned kathisma of the Psalter must be recited with stichologia at every Vespers, as well as the two kathismata during Matins. Also, the verses of the Lamp-lighting psalms (Psalms 140, 141, 129, and 116), and the verses of the psalms of lauds (Psalms 148, 149, and 150) must be chanted, and the nine odes of the Psalter must be recited with stichologia daily together with the canons, to say nothing of the mesōria, the typika, the Complines, the Midnight Offices, as well as the canons of the Theotokarion, the Paraklēseis and the Salutations during the Complines.[960] However, this taxis presupposes people who have dedicated themselves to the worship of God, and do not have worldly cares, occupations, families, and so forth, live near the temple, and are devoted to it day and night. As we wrote on another occasion, this is because the monastic services of the daily cycle pre-

960. In general parish usage, the psalmic verses are often skipped until reaching the matching verse for the corresponding troparion. Phountoulēs is emphasizing this point when listing the various services where these types of omissions are typically made.

suppose a particular rhythm and way of life that is organized based on worship, and takes up at least eight hours of prayer, which are harmoniously distributed to the various hours of the daily cycle, to which they also refer. However, in parishes, living conditions are completely different, since the members who legitimately constitute them, in accordance with the will of God also choose and consistently must march and conform to another way of life. They have to meet social, occupational, and family obligations; do not live around the temple, as the monastics; and do not have the same zeal with them for the worship of God nor even the same spiritual presuppositions. The old secular/parish worship, born within the cities and the parishes, and intended to meet the worship needs of the non-monastics, the inhabitants of the cities and villages, had a smaller number of services, generally where their structure was such as to correspond to the capabilities of the large church congregation, both from the perspective of content and from the perspective of duration.

By necessity, when the transfer of the monastic services from the monasteries to the parish temples began, certain limitations and adjustments to the monastic services needed to occur for them to be able to survive in the parish contexts. The bad thing—or the good thing, it depends how one views it—was that these adaptations were done or are done in some manner automatically, without official ecclesiastical guidance. In any case, a basic role in the formation of the new secular Typikon was played by the spiritual presuppositions of the priests, where depending on their more or less traditional disposition, they more faithfully observed or more freely applied the monastic Typikon. Likewise, an important factor was the proximity to great monastic centers, the influence of regularly attending bishops or hieromonks, the idiosyncrasies of the people, and so forth.

However, especially in parish worship, the problem is not limited to whether the priest might observe or to what degree he observes the monastic Typikon in its exactitude, but to what the people are able to tolerate out of all these things. Oftentimes, the priest even prays in place of the people when making up for their deficiencies, and the same one, as a person of prayer, can read the Hours, Psalters,

and canons. But the issue here is, in what part of all these things do the people participate, the plērōma of the Church, for whom and by whom worship is done. This is because divine worship basically is a public work, a liturgy of the mystical body of the Church, and not an individual matter of a single person, even if this person is a priest.

More formal attempts for the adaptation of the monastic Typikon to parish conditions were done at times by zealous prōtopsaltes and were granted ecclesiastical approval. Such are the well-known *Typika of the Great Church* of Kōnstantinos and of Violakēs,[961] which constitute the basis of parish practice nowadays, and upon them are based the *Calendar-Typika* that we mentioned above. However, essentially, if we wish to speak frankly, these are anachronistic. Namely, they presuppose applying an older practice, which in reality nowadays does not generally apply, and despite this we do not officially want to admit it.

Let us answer certain characteristic questions, straight out and without quibbling: In how many parish temples are the services of the Hours, the Midnight Office, and the Compline read? In how many is the stichologia of the amōmos[962] done during the Midnight Office, and the three kathismata of the Psalter, daily during Matins—lest we ask how many parish temples even possess a Psalter? In how many are the verses of the Lamp-lighting psalms and of lauds chanted? In how many is the stichologia of the nine (eight) odes of the Psalter done and the canons chanted? And the Typika still insist on all these things while the existing practice tends, if it has not already arrived, at their complete, or nearly complete, omission. We are not saying whether it is bad or good that the parish practice arrived where it arrived. However, projecting the ideals of the full monastic Typikon onto a secular parish community is like us seeking something that proves de facto inapplicable. An unavoidable consequence of this tactic is what we find daily: a fluidity in liturgical taxis, which varies

961. Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Βυζάντιος, Πρωτοψάλτης, *Τυπικὸν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* 2nd ed., 7th printing (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει: Γεώργιος Σεϊτανίδης, 1874); Γ. *Βιολάκης, Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1921).

962. Psalm 118.

according to the conservatism or to the "progressiveness" of the celebrants, if not also of the chanters, who usually regulate their preferences, not based on liturgical, but on musical criteria.

What we are writing regarding this so substantive question are simple findings. They intend neither to support pseudo-traditional positions, which these same things prove weak, nor to encourage liturgical arbitrariness, which essentially proves destructive to our worship. For no one can dispute that the monastic service possesses a wondrous biblical and hymnological richness and fills the soul of the person praying with the most sacred feelings, but no one in their right mind can dispute that monastic worship is viable in its perfection only in the monasteries.

Regarding the fact that once again the arbitrary, or even the prevailing, adaptations of monastic worship to parish practice are destructive for divine worship, we need only refer to two examples: the one, from the series of the examples above, and the other, from the question itself. First, the omission of the verses of the Lamp-lighting psalms and of lauds deprived the parish service of a wonderful biblical, psalmic element and threw the weight one-sidedly on the troparia, thus destroying the original balance of psalms and troparia in the chanting. Second, the enarxis of each group of services presupposes as indispensable, consistent with the correct taxis, the recitation of "Heavenly King..." and the enarxis trisagion. Since Matins is traditionally always joined to the Midnight Office, and Vespers to the Ninth Hour, "Heavenly king..."—an indispensable invocation to the Holy Spirit for the offering of the Church's prayer "in the Holy Spirit"—and the trisagion accordingly precede the Midnight Office and the Ninth Hour. Their omission and the enarxis of Matins or Vespers directly from "Lord, save your people..."[963] or "O come, let us worship..."[964] while the Midnight Office or Ninth Hour are omitted, is entirely inappropriate and liturgically unjustifiable.

963. "Σῶσον Κύριε τὸν λαὸν σου..."
964. "Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν..."

The examination of the subject of the Typikon is also included among the questions that will concern the Holy and Great Council convened in the future.[965] After an extensive study of the problems that arise from the application of the monastic Typikon in the contemporary parish context, the necessary correct solutions will also perhaps be given by this council. And it is imperative for this to be done soon, because, as we saw, the ongoing arbitrary application of the monastic Typikon in parish communities does not always benefit liturgical taxis and decorum.

389

Does there exist an occasion for two Presanctifieds to be performed in the same temple on the same day, namely, one in the morning and one in the evening (certainly by another priest)? If yes, will the same Vespers be chanted twice?

The Presanctified is not a Liturgy in the primary or particular sense of this word, namely, an offering of a sacrifice, a celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. It is simply a communion of Presanctified Precious Gifts, surrounded with liturgical solemnity and fitted into a framework of a Vespers, given that the days of the Great Lent during which it is celebrated are fasting/abstinence days. We could certainly say that the Presanctified is a Vespers with an offering of the holy Mysteries for communion at its end.

Therefore, given that this does not concern a Liturgy/Sacrifice, the well-known customary stipulation cannot also apply for this, according to which, on each day, only one Liturgy is celebrated on the same holy table by the same priest. There is a related question concerning this difficult subject, and we hope, with God's help, to thoroughly deal with this sometime. For the reason above, the celebration of the Presanctified on the same holy table twice a day, according to oikonomia in the morning and according to strictness in the evening, is not precluded. Naturally, the same priest cannot perform it, not for any other reason but because it is not correct for

965. At the 2016 Holy and Great Council, these questions were not addressed.

him to commune twice, something that applies not only regarding the priest, but regarding every single believer.[966]

However, purely for reasons of ecclesiastical taxis, I do not see the reason for which the Presanctified would need to be celebrated twice a day, except, of course, if there are faithful who wish to commune, and it is impossible for them to come in the evening or on another day to the undefiled Mysteries. In this case, where for the servicing of the Church's real needs the Presanctified would need to be celebrated twice, two Vespers would also need to be celebrated. This is also because the Presanctified is not an independent service like the Divine Liturgy, which is simply attached to the Matins or to the Hours, or independently celebrated, but is combined with the service of Vespers, precisely like the Vesperal Liturgies of Basileios the Great of the eves of the great feasts (Pascha, Great Saturday, Nativity, and Theophany) and of Great Thursday.

It is certainly self-evident that when only one Presanctified is celebrated in the evening, two Vespers will not be celebrated, but the morning service will traditionally be terminated after the service of the Sixth Hour, and in the afternoon the Ninth Hour will be celebrated together with the Vespers and the Liturgy of the Presanctified.

The celebration of two Vespers on the same day—if two Presanctifieds must be celebrated—is not prevented by our liturgical tradition. We have the example of the celebration of two Vespers in the monasteries during Sundays and the great feasts, during which the Small Vespers is celebrated at the ordinary time, after the service of the Ninth Hour and prior to trapeza, and the Great Vespers is celebrated during the vigil after Compline. We can also cite the contemporary, but innovative practice, according to which it is customary for the Vespers of the great feasts of the Nativity and of Theophany to be celebrated twice, in the morning, according to the prevailing oikonomia, with the Liturgy of Basileios the Great, but in the evening without it. It is likewise customary for two Vespers to be cel-

966. See question 368 regarding the application of these restrictions to the Presanctified and the celebration of marriage.

ebrated in the sacred temples of the Holy Trinity when celebrating their feast day, during the eve of which (Sunday of Pentecost) the Vespers with the kneeling prayers is celebrated in the morning, but in the evening the Vespers again without the above prayers.

390

It was claimed that the clothes of the catechumen, namely, what he or she wears and removes to be baptized, must be burned to signify the death of the old humanity. This has been recently put into practice, certainly and in fact festively, in the baptism of a newly illumined adult. Is this correct?

The question brings us back to the subject of holy baptism, which, after the series of answers we lately offered on it, ought to be exhausted or nearly so.[967] For this reason, perhaps a simple reference to these answers would suffice, if the question had not also added a new element particularly in relation to adult baptism. Since the writer considers and believes that the question of this baptism is extremely serious, but at the same time finds that the case being most commonly observed is alarming in the extreme, and since the question is connected to basic issues of essence[968] for liturgical practice and tradition, he seeks the indulgence of his readers and requests them to pay attention to what points are written below. If at some points the tone is not so irenic, and naturally incompatible with the irenic atmosphere *par excellence* of divine worship, he sincerely asks pardon, because he does it purposely and with true pain of soul, and from zeal and love towards our liturgical tradition so afflicted by all of us, in the name of which so many terrible and antitraditional things are done.

967. In particular, see questions 351 and 352.

968. The meaning of this use of the word "essence" (οὐσία) is illustrated by the citation of a text from question 384: "In these instances of conflict between essence and form (οὐσίας καὶ τύπου), we keep the essence, the offering of the baby to God, and not the form of the forty days. If essence and form come together, this is optimal."

Firstly, it is clear that in the Church's baptismal theology, the removal of the clothing—all of the clothing—of the candidate for baptism, which is attested to by the ancient sources and the contemporary practice of the baptism of infants, has the meaning of the removal of the old humanity, "corrupt according to the lusts of deceit" (Eph 4:22), the removal of the "garment of sin, filled with much shame" (Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *Catechesis 3*, 8),[969] of the noetic "filthy, old garments," namely, the stripping of the soul from "sins" by the angels (Asterios of Amaseia, *Homily Fifteen On Psalm Eight*, 2.4).[970] Thus, the return of humanity to the paradisiacal state and innocence is represented, since the clothes parallel and constitute a development of the chitōns of skin, which the first-formed wore after disobedience (Chrysostomos, ibid.; Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 14*, 8; Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 63).[971]

Precisely the opposite theological meaning is expressed after baptism by the clothing in white baptismal garments, a symbol of the spiritual purity acquired with holy baptism and the putting on of Christ Himself by the newly illumined in accordance with the apostolic, "As many of you that have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ…" (Gal 3:27),[972] which is also chanted instead of the trisagion in baptismal Liturgies.

The practice of the Church does not recognize a burning of the clothes that the newly illumined removed. Liturgical symbolisms move within the boundaries of reverence and decorum. Our

969. Iōannēs Chrysostomos, *Catechesis* 3, 8 in Varia graeca sacra. Сборник греческих неизданных богословских текстов IV–XV веков с предисловием и указателем, ed. Афанасий Иванович Пападопуло-Керамевс (Санкт-Петербург: типография В.Ф. Киршбаума, 1909), 174.

970. Asterios of Amaseia, *Homily Fifteen on the Psalm Eight, 2.4 in Asterii sophistae. Commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt accedunt aliquot homiliae anonymae, Symbolae Osloenses*, ed. Marcel Richard, Fasc. Supplet. 16 (Oslo: A. W. Brøgger, 1956), 110. Phountoulēs did not provide a complete citation of the homily numbers, which are provided above.

971. Theodōros of Mopsuestia, *Catechesis 14, 8 in Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ed. and trans. Raymond M. Tonneau and Robert Devresse, Studi e Testi 145 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949), 417–419; Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 63 in PG 155:228b–228c.

972. "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε…"

desire with such barbaric and unfamiliar practices (which recall the "burning of Judas" of popular customs,[973] to emphasize the meaning of the destruction of the old humanity or the complete wiping away of sins prior to baptism or whatever else our pious inventive imagination can conceive) is foreign to the temperate solemnity of divine worship. Orthodox liturgical practice is regulated by tradition and does not leave room for subjective, so-called theological, innovations that approach the boundaries of comedy, if not tragedy.

Liturgical taxis and tradition are a very delicate matter. It is damaged, we would say, not only from the "left," but also from the "right." Namely, it is harmed and destroyed not only by negligent observance and indifference in the precise knowledge and performance of the sacred symbolical actions and rites, but also by misguided excesses and attempts of highlighting certain symbols, which lack a correct theological basis and traditional establishment. We have seen many such examples in the long history of the answers to various questions that at times this column faced. Let me just mention the elevation of the Gospel book during "Blessed is the kingdom..."[974] of the Divine Liturgy (question 283); the entrance and handover of the Apostolos (questions 111, 210); the elevation of the entire paten and/or the holy chalice during "The Holy Things are for the holy..."[975] (questions 181, 233); the addition of the names of saints or of other phrases in dismissals and other prayers (questions 224, 231); the crucifixion in the middle of the temple (question 358); the Liturgy of Great Saturday in the koubouklion of the epitaphios (question 357); and the chanting of "Behold the darkness and the dawn..."[976] during the night of Pascha (question 152). Let

973. In many villages of Greece, there is a custom of setting bonfires to allegorically signify the burning of Judas as the betrayer of Christ. These bonfires take place on Great Friday and Saturday as well as on Pascha. The bonfires can even include an effigy of Judas. For a description of various customs associated with the burning of Judas, see G. A. Megas, *Greek Calendar Customs* (Second Edition, Athens: B. and M. Rhodis, 1963), 101–102.

974. "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία..."

975. "Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις..."

976. "Ἰδοὺ σκοτία καὶ πρωΐ..."

us also add the burning of the clothes of the newly illumined of the present question.

We do not doubt that all these are done from zeal and a good intention. However, this does not suffice to justify them. When our own zeal is not subject to the Church's tradition, this is evil and egotistical because we place ourselves above our liturgical tradition and the Fathers. Thus, we spoil, sometimes without us wishing it, and distort things for the correct preservation of which we are heavily responsible, and in a manner contrary to theology transform ecclesiastical, namely, communal worship, the public work, "liturgy" in the original and theological meaning of the term, into an individual, private affair.

Specifically, regarding the baptism of adults, to which the question refers, allow us to make an appeal with much respect to the most venerable hierarchs, as many who will make the effort to read these lines. The baptism of adults is an issue that must concern them personally. With the way that it is done most of the time, the most sacred mystery itself of Christian initiation is irreparably disparaged in the eyes of the newly illumined. Through the action of their ordination, our priests have the duty and the right to "renew the people [of God] by the bath of regeneration" (second prayer from the ordination of a presbyter), and no one can deny them it, or deny them this right. However, they have become accustomed to the manner of its celebration by oikonomia during the baptism of infants. And they try to do something more correct for adults, but without succeeding most of the time, because they do not possess the capabilities nor the theological knowledge for it.

This so serious an issue necessitates immediate and correct confrontation. For example, given that there is no risk of death that necessitates the expediting of holy baptism—and I do not think that this is so common—it is unacceptable for the baptism of adults to be done individually and privately, and outside of the Divine Liturgy, or even, outside of the great feasts as the correct ecclesiastical tradition prescribes: "during the time 'As many of you that have been baptized into Christ…' is chanted for the Divine Liturgy on feasts, and above all on Great Saturday, prior to the divine sacred-service of the many

readings recited from the divine prophets" (Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 62).[977] It is likewise inconceivable for it to be done without an appropriate baptistery, or in the middle of the temple, in plain sight, as if it were a baptism of a baby. It is not permitted for the correct, traditional symbolisms (undressing, anointing with the oil of exorcism, immersion, white baptismal clothing, bestowal of a cross and candle, and the like) to be passed over or replaced with the arbitrary inventions of each celebrant.

In the final analysis, the baptism of adult catechumens, especially during Great Saturday, was a personal task of the patriarchs and local bishops, as is clearly attested to by the Church's liturgical tradition. After the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, and above all the other sanctifying actions, rites, and feasts, the joyous event of the birth of new members of the Church of Christ is found, but which has been so corrupted from daily use and the baptism of infants. On the contrary, however, when mature people come to Christianity, often with much zeal and learning, and in any case individuals who consciously leave their religion or confession to approach the Christian faith and the Orthodox Church, it is necessitated that their entrance into the Church be worthy of Her and of the radiant traditional baptismal ritual of Orthodox worship. In these instances, it is necessary for them and for us to realize our responsibility before our sacred forms that express the deep experience of Christian faith, as our great Fathers lived it at its zenith.

Otherwise, we arrive at the sorrowful conclusion that Symeōn the blessed archbishop of Thessaloniki expresses with pain of soul at the end of his chapter concerning holy baptism, regarding similar irregularities: "But one must also hold to these things, O beloved, which are overlooked by some and seem to be minor to the latter… And I say these things for the ignorant. For I myself saw most being careless about these matters and believing them to be nearly of no account, and I sighed deeply over them since they knew nothing" (*Dialogue*, chapter 70).[978]

977. PG 155:221c.

978. PG 155:237a–237b. In the translated text, the mistaken citation of chapter 69 is corrected to 70.

391

Must the prayer of the Great Hagiasmos, "Trinity beyond all being . . . ,"[979] up until, "in compunction cry out to you,"[980] also be said during the eve of Theophany or only on the day of the feast?

Question 126 raised the issue whether there exists a difference between the Great Hagiasmos of the eve and that of the day of Theophany. At that time, we incidentally referred to the "prologue" of the prayer of the Great Hagiasmos, "Trinity beyond all being...," which is also the only liturgical element that differentiates the two celebrations of the Hagiasmos if it is omitted in one of them as is customary. The question above gives us the opportunity to thoroughly examine this issue, which, as minor as it may appear at first glance, is not without interest. The correct solution of the question can significantly assist in our knowledge of this element of our liturgical tradition and consequently also in the more correct treatment of the practical ritual matter that is associated with it.

As we wrote at that time, this section of the prayer is characterized in the manuscripts as the "Prologue of [holy] Theophany,"[981] or "Prologue for the water of holy Theophany,"[982] or "Prologue of the prayer of holy Theophany,"[983] or "Prologue of holy Theophany, prior to 'Great are you, O Lord,'"[984] or "Prologue of Saint Basileios,"[985] and "Introduction to the prayer of holy Theophany,"[986] or "Introduction to 'Great are you, O Lord....'"[987] This title does not exist in the printed editions, and thus, the mistaken impression is given that "Great are you, O Lord..." constitutes a single whole together with the prayer. The attempt for an introduction of the

979. "Τριὰς ὑπερούσιε..."
980. "ἐν κατανύξει βοῶ σοι."
981. "Πρόλογος [τῶν ἁγίων] Θεοφανείων."
982. "Πρόλογος εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανείων." This is the last phrase of the text in question.
983. "Πρόλογος τῆς εὐχῆς τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανείων."
984. "Πρόλογος τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανείων πρὸ τοῦ 'Μέγας εἶ Κύριε...'"
985. "Πρόλογος τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου."
986. "Προοίμιον τῆς εὐχῆς τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανείων."
987. "Προοίμιον εἰς τὸ 'Μέγας εἶ Κύριε..."

old title ("Prologue of the prayer of holy Theophany"),[988] which was done in the Hieratikon of the Apostolikē Diakonia's 1977 edition (p. 251), proved unsuccessful because the title was placed not before "Trinity beyond all being...," but prior to the prayer, "O Lord Jesus Christ...,"[989] namely, the inaudible preparatory prayer of the priest, which without dispute is not the "introduction" or the "prologue" for the prayer of the Hagiasmos.

Another confusion that is connected with "Trinity beyond all being..." is its characterization as a "prayer," which is encountered in some manuscripts and in the printed editions. As we saw, the standard manuscripts characterize it as a "Prologue"[990] or "Introduction,"[991] and in this way wish to distinguish it from the prayer of the Hagiasmos, which is also the prayer "Great are you, O Lord..." as in holy baptism, and to signify on the one hand its independence and relationship to the prayer and on the other hand that it is not a prayer but something different. In manuscripts and in printed editions, it is also characterized as a "poem,"[992] which is certainly without likelihood attributed to Basileios the Great, Sōphronios of Jerusalem, or Basileios of Nicea "of the 318 fathers."[993] It rather concerns a panegyric encomium for the feast of Theophany, which is encountered in fragments in the orations of ecclesiastical rhetoricians, such as the Armenian Catholicos Zak'aria[994] and Theodōros or Thaddaios the monk.[995] The pompous rhetorical style is also seen from the multiple repetitions of "Today..."[996] and "the Jordan turned back...."[997]

988. "Πρόλογος τῆς εὐχῆς τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανείων."
989. "Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ..."
990. "Πρόλογος."
991. "Προοίμιον."
992. "ποίημα."
993. The phrase "of the 318 fathers" refers to the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325.
994. Zak'aria, Catholicos of Armenia (r. 855–876).
995. F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, eds. and trans., *Rituale Armenorum: Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany and The East Syrian Epiphany Rites* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 182–190. This source is discussed in Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 2:14–17.
996. "Σήμερον..."
997. "Ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω..."

But the same text of this "prologue," as it appears in our printed liturgical books, generates a multitude of philological problems. First of all, its beginning with an apostrophe to the Holy Trinity,[998] which gives it the impression of a prayer ("Trinity...beyond goodness"), does not continue, but the oration afterwards turns to the Son ("We glorify you, only-begotten Son of God, without father from a mother, and without mother from a Father...we saw you an infant...we see you as perfect, our perfect God made manifest from a perfect one"), then addresses the people ("...with us...us... we were delivered...we were saved...we were redeemed...we are illuminated...we purchased..."), and finally again towards Christ ("...waters saw you, O God...flying around you..."). Moreover, also regarding its content, this "prologue" again presents difficulties of consistency in relation to what precedes and follows. Namely, the celebrant's confession of unworthiness has already taken place in the priest's inaudible preparatory prayer ("O Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son..."),[999] and the reference to the theme of the feast is done in a very theological and archaic manner in the prayer "Great are you, O Lord..."[1000] that follows.

Retrospection into our manuscripts reveals an unusual instability in the text of this "introduction." There exists a multitude of variants and different readings, which eloquently attest to how convoluted the philological course of this text was until not the better form becomes prevalent, but rather the one that the manuscript on which the first printed edition of the Euchologion was based. This becomes more evident when we compare this prayer with the next one ("Great are you, O Lord..."), which, contrary to the "prologue," presents a much more stable text. One can see these variants in the service of the Great Hagiasmos's critical edition by the professor Panagiōtēs Trempelas of blessed memory, in the *Small Euchologion* (volume 2, Athens 1955, pp. 29–40).[1001] All these things are explained by the awareness that the ecclesiastical tradition had regarding this "pro-

998. "Apostrophe" here is used in its meaning as a rhetorical address.
999. "Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱός..."
1000. "Μέγας εἶ, Κύριε..."
1001. Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 2:29–40.

logue." Namely, ecclesiastical tradition considered it as something fluid, a type of standard festive oration or festal address, which made up for the lack of appropriate sources for a homily. Phrases from the orations of the Fathers were added to it, gradually constituting an anthology, which had as a purpose the extolling of the feast. Indeed, in the *Codex Barberini 336*, a distinction is made between two "prologues." The first is entitled, "Prologue of holy Theophany which is said prior to 'Great are you, O Lord'"[1002] (from "Trinity uncreated..."[1003] up to "and to say"[1004]) and the "Another prologue,"[1005] the remainder. Many other manuscripts completely omit the Trinitarian prologue, and begin immediately, in different ways, from the second part (the "Another prologue" of the *Codex Barberini*).

The "prologue" or the "encomium" of Theophany was later attached to the prayer "Great are you, O Lord...." We verify this not only from the baptism's parallel prayer for the blessing of the water, which does not have a prologue, but also from the manuscript tradition for the service of the Great Hagiasmos. This is because, while attested to by the *Codex Barberini 336*, it does not exist in many and indeed old manuscripts (for example, *Athens 64, 661, 662, 664, 667, 668, 669, 713, 754, 851, 877, 1910, 2573, 2696, 2795*; *Paris Coislin 213*; *Sinai 956, 973*; *Timiou Staurou Kōnstantinoupoleōs 615/757*). It does not likewise exist in the Slavonic Euchologion, in the Typikon of the Evergetis Monastery, in the Typikon of Saint Sabas Monastery, nor in the Typikon of the Monastery of the Savior of Messina. The current prologue, or a similar one, again exists in other manuscripts. This indicates that the use of this addition was neither general nor originated from the Great Church of Constantinople, since, as it is again attested to by the manuscripts, this Church began

1002. "Πρόλογος τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανείων λεγόμενος πρὸ τοῦ 'Μέγας εἶ Κύριε.'" Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Eucologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 129.1.

1003. "Τριὰς ἄκτιστε..."

1004. "καὶ λέγειν."

1005. "Ἕτερος πρόλογος." Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds. and trans., *L'Eucologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 130.1.

the prayer immediately from "Great are you, O Lord...," without a "prologue." Indeed, manuscripts and printed editions that contain the "prologue" note prior to it that its reading was optional or even disapprove its use in the name of the Constantinopolitan tradition ("We have not received from ecclesiastical tradition that this prayer is said. And if you wish, it is said. But if you omit it according to the prescribed form, start from 'Great are you, O Lord,'" *Codex Athens 663*, or "We do not say this prayer," *Athens 670*, "for we so received this from the Great Church," *Sinai 973*, or "One must know that the present prayer, namely, 'We glorify you, O Master...'[1006] [the manuscript omits the Trinitarian apostrophe], while read by some, is not read in the Great Church, but after the synaptē and the prayer above [the priest's preparatory prayer] the priest exclaims in a loud voice 'Great are you, O Lord...,'" *Patriarchate of Jerusalem 367*). The standard rubric of the *Codex Sinai 1109* takes almost the same approach, according to which the "prologue" was said if it existed in the manuscript that the priest used, otherwise he began from "Great are you, O Lord..." ("if it does not have this prayer, 'Great are you, O Lord...' is first"). Finally, in other codices, we find a transitional rubric: The priest says the "introduction to himself" (*Sinai 1036*) or says it "with a loud voice,"[1007] but attaches the prayer of the Hagiasmos "in a louder-sounding voice"[1008] in order for its particular importance to be obviously shown over the "prologue" (*Sinai 974*).

This "prologue" entered the printed Euchologia, Hieratika, and Mēnaia, because obviously it was contained in the manuscripts on which the first printed editions were based. Despite this, the note of many manuscripts was preserved: "One must know that the present prayer, namely, 'Trinity beyond all being . . .' is on the one hand read by some. But on other hand, it is not said in the Great Church and on the Holy Mountain. But if you wish to say this, say in an exclamatory manner, 'Trinity beyond all being...' after the synaptē and the prayer above" (Great Euchologion, Venice 1760, p. 28;[1009]

1006. "Δοξάζομέν σε, δέσποτα."
1007. "μεγάλῃ φωνῇ."
1008. "γεγονωτέρᾳ φωνῇ."
1009. *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* (Venice: Νικόλαος Σάρος, 1760), 28.

Rome 1873, p. 220;[1010] M. Saliveros–N. Papadopoulos, Athens 1927, p. 272[1011]). Contrariwise, in the Euchologion of J. Goar—from a bad reading, or from a misprint—this standard rubric took on a different form and says precisely the opposite: "One must know that the present prayer, namely, 'Trinity beyond all being…" while not read by some, is said in the Great Church and on the Holy Mountain. But if you wish to say…" (2nd ed., Venice 1730, p. 369).[1012]

Contemporary practice has been influenced by the printed liturgical books, which, as we saw, included the "prologue," but many of which and indeed, the ones easy-to-use for the celebration of service of the Hagiasmos, namely, the Hieratikon and Mēnaia, omitted the above standard rubric that leaves the reading or not of the "prologue" to the discretion of the celebrant. Inasmuch as the double celebration of the Hagiasmos (on the eve and on the feast) became prevalent, those of the priests who were more faithful to "strictness"[1013] also said the "prologue" in both celebrations of the Hagiasmos. Others compromised in saying it once "inaudibly."[1014] Others omit it on the eve.

The modern manuscript Typika of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain, at least as far as I could see, also appear themselves influenced by the printed liturgical books. Thus, while the Typikon of Xēropotamou Monastery, which was compiled in 1915 by Iōasaph Xēropotamēnos, provides for the reading of the "prologue" to also be said "in an exclamatory manner, slowly and piously" on the eve—but requires for the prayer "Great are you, O Lord…" to be said "in a louder-sounding voice"—the Typika of Dionysiou, Hagiou Pavlou, and Philotheou explicitly note that "we do not say 'Trinity beyond

1010. *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* (Rome: Polyglot Press, 1873), 220.

1011. Ν. Π. Παπαδόπουλος, ed., *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1927), 272. The page is incorrectly cited as 264. In this edition, the note here simply states, "The present prayer is read by some, but it is not said in the Great Church and on the Holy Mountain." The note does not include, "But if you wish to say this, say in an exclamatory manner, 'Trinity beyond all being…' after the synaptē and the prayer above."

1012. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, 369.

1013. "ἀκρίβεια."

1014. "μυστικῶς."

all being' on the eve, but we say it the next day, on the feast." The *Calendar-Typikon of the Church of Greece*[1015] adopted this latter taxis.

However, as we saw in the long retrospection into our liturgical tradition, "strictness" is not found on the side of the reading, but of the omission of the "prologue" or, at least, according to the modern compromising solution, of its optional reading. According to the more ancient practice, the service for the sanctification of water on the eve, namely, during the all-night vigil for the feast of Theophany, was the only one and later, the more radiant one. For this reason, also during this all-night vigil, the great and radiant Liturgy of our Church, the Divine Liturgy of Basileios the Great, was celebrated. The festive encomium of the feast, the "prologue," for which the oration is done, eminently suited the Hagiasmos of the eve. And nowadays, on the Holy Mountain, during the service of the Ninth Great Hour, they read a similar "Encomium of Theophany."[1016] Nowadays, especially in parishes, the emphasis has fallen on the Hagiasmos of the day of the feast, and for this reason the compromising solution of the *Calendar-Typikon* presents itself as more fitting for our contemporary liturgical reality.

However, even again here, the older rubric concerning the optional reading of the "prologue" does not cease to have its application. Especially indeed if the Hagiasmos on the day of the feast of Theophany, as it is customary in many localities, is celebrated seaside or outdoors, often under unfavorable weather conditions, the priest would be more faithful to "strictness" of the tradition and to pastoral need if he also here omitted the "Prologue of the prayer 'Great are you, O Lord.'"[1017] The reading or not of the "prologue" does not affect the celebration of the service of the Great Hagiasmos. It is on the sidelines.

1015. *Ἡμερολόγιον-Τυπικὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*
1016. "Ἐγκώμιον τῶν Θεοφανείων."
1017. "Πρόλογος τῆς εὐχῆς 'Μέγας εἶ, Κύριε.'"

392

On the day of Theophany, can Christians, of course having fasted, drink the Great Hagiasmos of the eve, and afterwards go to church?

The thing most proper and most consistent with the liturgical taxis is for Christians to do what the priests also observe and what applies not only for them but also for the entire community. Namely, they first commune of the undefiled Mysteries during the Divine Liturgy of the feast, and afterwards partake of the Great Hagiasmos, which is celebrated on this day. However, if they have not prepared for approaching holy communion, and if for whatever reason it is not possible for them to remain fasting until the end of the service in order to partake in the Hagiasmos, I find that this solution for these special needs has nothing blameworthy. Moreover, it became prevalent for the Great Hagiasmos to be celebrated twice for the accommodation of such or similar needs.

393

Is it permitted from the practice of our Church for the priest to commune the faithful from the Presanctified Holy Bread on Great Thursday morning prior to the Liturgy and, if so, who shall consume the Holy Elements if there is only one priest?

The matter of communing the faithful from the Presanctified Holy Elements on Great Thursday prior to the Divine Liturgy occupied us in the answer to question 186. It is not possible for us to return to this matter in detail because its examination at that time was exhaustively done, and I do not think that there exist new points that necessitate us to revise or to supplement the positions that were formulated then. No one can deny that there exists a serious practical problem that invited this solution according to oikonomia and which continues to retain it up until nowadays. However, oikonomia also has its boundaries that must not be exceeded despite the pressure of conditions admittedly unfavorable for the observance of strictness.

In the first place, we must appreciate the desire of Christians to come, even by habit, to holy communion during Great Week, and particularly on Pascha and Great Thursday, the day of the handing down of the awesome Mysteries, and the anniversary of the institution of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist and of the Lord's Mystical Supper. Our work is not to inhibit, but on the contrary, to encourage the faithful to more frequently partake in the mystery of life. For this reason, it would certainly be pointless, suddenly on the morning of Great Thursday, for the priest to deny the partaking of holy communion, from the Presanctified Gifts prior to the Divine Liturgy, to the faithful, who by habit—albeit poor habit—come to commune before they go to their work. I have in mind such instances that provoke controversies among Christians and recriminations between them and the priest.[1018] Whether or not these things come from the faithful not being fully conscientious does not have particular significance. On the contrary, more love and care is required for them, in accordance with the Lord's commandment. I again have in mind priests who, with their love and their systematic guidance of Christians, were able to perform real miracles and to curtail similar inappropriate things, which from bad habit ended up being considered sacred traditions.

Those things that we wrote in the referenced answer were not meant to teach priests who know the correct things, indeed, better than the writer, but to give them material for a more systematic and theological catechism of the faithful in this regard. Thus, their conformity with the proper taxis will not be something compelled but will be the voluntary act of a free people. We also wrote in the past that for a priest to discuss and to teach things befitting Christians, it is not necessary for the priest to be a rhetor or only a theologian.

1018. Phountoulēs may be referring to certain "less conscientious faithful" who (out of long-standing generational habit) may only show up once or twice a year, and "expect" the priest to offer holy communion "quickly enough" so that they can still make it to work on time. Such individuals have been known to become "exceedingly vocal" if they feel the priest or service is "not quick enough," most likely resulting in the disorderly liturgical compromise that is described by the questioner in this answer, as clergy would seek an "emergency" solution to mitigate such disruptive turmoil in the temple.

It is sufficient for him to have a fear of God, and love for God and his people, and a consciousness that as a concession of God he is a teacher of his people which the providence and love of God entrusted to him.

As for the consumption of the Holy Elements (the Presanctified), this can be done at the end of the Divine Liturgy, together with the consumption of the Mysteries of this day's Liturgy. Moreover, this is also customarily done with the remainders of the reserved Consecrated Elements of the previous year during the Liturgy of Great Thursday.

394

Some priests are accustomed to bless the water of the Hagiasmos during the litany of peace, when "That this water may be sanctified by the power and energy and visitation of the Holy Spirit"[1019] is said. Is this correct?

The litany of peace is the deacon's, or, in his absence, the priest's exhortations to the people and sets the matters for which the community's prayer will be coordinated, depending on the sacred rite being celebrated. They are not prayers/entreaties for the sanctification of the "species"[1020] of the mystery or of the sacred rite. Such diaconal exhortations exist, as is well known, not only in the Hagiasmoi, but also in baptism, marriage, unction, the dedication of the temple, and so forth. However, they do not have a consecratory meaning anywhere. Everywhere, they are exhortations to prayer and are not accompanied by a priestly blessing. The crosswise blessing with the priest's hand, the "seal,"[1021] only accompanies the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the priestly prayer and, together with it, has a sanctifying character. Inopportune blessings weaken the significance of the words of the invocation and of the blessing that takes place by them and invite unacceptable liturgical and even dogmatic confusion.

1019. "Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιασθῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τῇ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος."

1020. "εἶδος."

1021. "σφραγίς."

Symeōn of Thessaloniki, who repeatedly refers to the sanctification that takes place by the "seal of the cross and invocation of the Holy Spirit"[1022] or the "seal and invocation of the Holy Spirit"[1023] (*Explanation* 86, 88), codified the ecclesiastical tradition in question. He also teaches in a more detailed manner: "According to divine tradition, we believe the divine rites to receive the consecration by the priest's prayer at the divine invocation and by the seal of the cross" (*Explanation,* 88).[1024] The invocation here, as also in other parallels, is not found in the diaconal petitions, but in the subsequent priestly prayer. And specifically in the service of the Small Hagiasmos, in the more common sanctifying prayer, "O Lord our God, who is mighty in counsel and wonderful in works...,"[1025] it takes places at the phrase, "Do you yourself, therefore, O King, Lover of humankind...and send down your blessing on us both through the partaking and sprinkling of this water,"[1026] to which "and sanctify this water by your Holy Spirit"[1027] is added by some priests in order for the words of the invocation to be clearer (*Small Euchologion*, edition of E. Skarpas/M. Saliveros).[1028] In another prayer that is used by many instead of the preceding ("O great and most high God, who is worshipped in Holy Trinity..."),[1029] the invocation clearly is at the phrase, "Do you yourself, therefore, O King, Lover of humankind,

1022. Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessalonika*,140–141.

1023. Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessalonika*,134–135.

1024. Translation based on Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessalonika*, 146–147. Phountoulēs modified the text from "πιστεύωμεν δέχεσθαι" to "πιστεύομεν δέχεσθαι." The unmodified text is translated slightly differently, "... and let us believe that all the divine rites, by the priest's prayer in the invocation and by the seal of the cross, receive the consecration according to the divine tradition" (καὶ πάσας τὰς θείας τελετὰς τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐν θείᾳ ἐπικλήσει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σταυροῦ σφραγῖδι, τὴν τελείωσιν πιστεύωμεν δέχεσθαι κατὰ τὴν θείαν παράδωσιν).

1025. "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μέγας τῇ βουλῇ καὶ θαυμαστὸς τοῖς ἔργοις..."

1026. "Αὐτός οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ... καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου μεταλήψεως τε καὶ ῥαντισμοῦ τὴν σὴν εὐλογίαν ἡμῖν κατάπεμψον."

1027. "καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ."

1028. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον ἢ Ἁγιασματάριον τὸ Μέγα: περιέχον ἀκολουθίας & εὐχὰς ἐκλεχθείσας ἐκ τοῦ Μεγάλου Εὐχολογίου ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιστασίᾳ Πρωτοσυγκέλλου Εὐσταθίου Α. Σκάρπα* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, n.d.), 17.

1029. "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ὕψιστος, ὁ ἐν Τριάδι ἁγίᾳ προσκυνούμενος..."

be present even now through the visitation of your Holy Spirit and sanctify this water by your Holy Spirit."[1030] In these consecratory phrases, in the printed editions and in the manuscripts, "thrice"[1031] is noted for these in order for them to accompany the triple—according to the form of the Holy Trinity—priestly crosswise blessing, while a red cross is noted in some manuscripts within the text or in the margin.

From the above I think it became clear that only at this point—at the invocation of the Holy Spirit—and nowhere else does the blessing of the water take place during the celebration of the Hagiasmos.

395

Must the censing during the Cherubic hymn necessarily be done at "Trinity," or is it immaterial?[1032]

1030. "Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ."

1031. "ἑκ γ'."

1032. The full text of the Cherubic hymn is the following:

> Οἱ τὰ Χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῇ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσᾴδοντες, πᾶσαν νῦν βιοτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν. Ὡς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι, ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τάξεσιν. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα. Ἀλληλούϊα.
>
> Let us who mystically represent the Cherubim and who sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-creating Trinity, let us now lay aside every earthly care. That we may receive the king of all, invisibly escorted by the angelic hosts. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia.

Most arrangements in Byzantine chant for the Cherubic hymn place a climactic emphasis on the word "Trinity" (Τριάδι) with notes at the top of the musical scale. It is a common practice for chanters to attempt the coordination of their chanting of this word with the exit of the priest from the altar to cense prior to the Great Entrance. There is a popular notion that the chanting of "Trinity" and exit of the priest should take place simultaneously. To avoid the repetition of the Cherubic hymn (which is contrary to the older tradition that Phountoulēs discussed in this answer), an informal prompt often used by chanters to prolong or accelerate the timing of their chanting of this word is the sound of the bells from the censor being used by the priest immediately prior to his exit to cense outside of the altar.

The censing during the cheroubikon is a large subject, regarding which much could be written. The tradition is quite confused and accords very little with the taxis that prevails nowadays in Greek Orthodox churches. It is not for us to speak about this at present. However, specifically for us to position ourselves correctly facing the question that has been posed, we must note that the more correct taxis, namely, that which is attested to by the majority and the more precise manuscripts of the Divine Liturgy and by the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos of Constantinople (*Codex Panteleēmonos 6277-770*),[1033] is the one that is also in force nowadays in the Slavic churches. The censing is done by the deacon at the time when the priest recites the prayer, "No one is worthy...."[1034] The priest began to cense when he was compelled in the absence of a deacon to celebrate the Divine Liturgy alone, at which point, he also performed the deacon's duties by saying the litany of peace, the ektenēs, the commands to the people, and, in our case, censing during the cheroubikon. Therefore, by necessity he said the prayer first and then censed. Thus, the exception became the rule, and when a deacon concelebrates, the priest still censes.

Secondly, we must know that the cheroubikon was not chanted only one time, as nowadays, but three times. The triple recitation of the Cherubic hymn, which is done by the celebrants according to our contemporary taxis, is a remnant of this triple chanting.

If we look at the question with these presuppositions, we immediately realize that the censing at "Trinity" cannot be old because it is based on the later practice. Namely, it presupposes the chanting of the Cherubic hymn only one time and the censing not to be done by the deacon, but by the priest after the recitation of the prayer.

However, neither the later manuscripts nor printed editions connect the censing to "Trinity." Nor also does there exist any semantic relationship between this word and censing, such as occurs with "Let my prayer be set forth as incense before you" (Psalm 140:2),[1035] the

1033. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, 9.
1034. "Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος..."
1035. "Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου."

kekragarion of Vespers or of the Presanctified. Here, during the Cherubic hymn, the trisagion is sung to the Trinity, and there does not exist a reference or a correlation to the offering of incense. The connection of "Trinity" to the censing likely occurred empirically, since about that time the priest completed the prayer and was coming out to cense.

It is unnecessary to note that the priest is not bound by the chanting of the cheroubikon, but the chanting of the cheroubikon is bound by the priest.[1036] The cheroubikon is a covering hymn, which aims at adorning with appropriate chanting and covering a time dead for the faithful, as much as it is necessary for the celebrant's preparation for the celebration of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, namely, the prayer, censing, and the petition for forgiveness. All these things, when said and performed at a regular pace, will also determine the duration of the chanting of the Cherubic hymn, and not the opposite. An excessively slow or quick cheroubikon will not correspondingly cause either a slowdown or speeding-up of the priestly prayers and actions. The priest, as the leading person of the synaxis and as the regulator of worship according to the correct taxis and tradition of the Divine Liturgy, must also provide the regular pace of its celebration, both coordinating and directing the chanters towards this aim. He must not be enslaved to any of their musical excesses or languid dispositions.

In any event, as contemporary practice stands, a well-considered coordination of the priest and the cheroubikon can exist. The

1036. Phountoulēs appears to be alluding to complaints that chanters make regarding the "premature" exit of priests to cense prior to the Great Entrance that the former believe causes the over-acceleration of chanting, affects rhythm, and/or interrupts their chanting; and, in addition, also to the fact that some priests actually delay their exit for censing (and even later during the Cherubic hymn with the eucharistic gifts during the Great Entrance) to accommodate the timing of the chanter's musical pace. In the absence of a return to the diaconal tradition, Phountoulēs attempts to solve the problem by suggesting that the priest sets the timing for the chanting of the Cherubic hymn, but at the same time does so in a way that his liturgical actions are coordinated with the hymn's words and, ultimately, its wider meaning. There are arrangements of the Cherubic hymn that contain estimated timing that could be used for this purpose.

prayer "No one is worthy..." corresponds to the first phrase of the Cherubic hymn ("Let us who mystically represent the Cherubim.../ Οἱ τὰ Χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες"); the censing to the second ("and who sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-creating Trinity/ καὶ τῇ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσάδοντες"); the petition for forgiveness to the third ("now lay aside every earthly care/ πᾶσαν νῦν βιοτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν"); and the exit of the holy gifts to the fourth ("that we may receive.../Ὡς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι").[1037]

396

Is what is customarily chanted at the end of Liturgy, "O Lord, protect for many years the one who blesses and sanctifies us,"[1038] traditional? Namely, is it attested to by our liturgical tradition, or is it an innovation?

The polychronismos[1039] for the celebrant (because this is what it is about) at the end of the Divine Liturgy must not be very old, nor was it generally widespread. And in our contemporary age, despite the observed tendency for its dissemination, again I do not also think that it has become generally prevalent. Nor does it have the same form everywhere, nor is it done at the same point of the dismissal. Elsewhere, they add "Master"[1040] to the end; somewhere else they repeat "for many years"[1041] three times, and so forth. Elsewhere, it is said during the dismissal, somewhere else after the dismissal and before "Through the prayers...,"[1042] and elsewhere, after this. On the Holy Mountain, as far as I know, it is not said, nor also in the Slavic churches.

The polychronismos during the dismissal of the serving hierarch, which also must be older, presents a parallel to the serving

1037. The suggested pairing works with the Greek text but may not be applicable for translations.

1038. "Τὸν εὐλογοῦντα καὶ ἁγιάζοντα ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, φύλαττε εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη."

1039. "πολυχρονισμός, ὁ." An acclaimed prayer for a long life. Also known as "polychronion" (πολυχρόνιον, τό). See also question 225.

1040. "Δέσποτα."

1041. "εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη."

1042. "Δι' εὐχῶν."

priest's polychronismos above and to similar variants. The dialogue of the priest and people that concludes the services of Vespers and Matins on the Holy Mountain is also similarly analogous: "—Lord, let your mercy come upon us, inasmuch as we have hoped in you. —May your memory be eternal, O founders, ever remembered and worthy of blessedness. —May their memory be eternal. —Through the prayers...."[1043]

Moreover, in the same framework belongs the addition of the prayer, "May the Holy Trinity preserve you all,"[1044] which is customarily said by many priests towards the people after the dismissal, in response to "O Lord, protect for many years the one who blesses and sanctifies us," or another less customary phrase, "O Lord, protect for many years those who labor and chant,"[1045] as a response of the priest to his polychronismos by the chanters. In Cyprus, a more developed form of response/blessing is customary: "May the Holy Trinity preserve you all in peace, concord, and love."[1046]

All these are integrated into the final and later layer of successive blessings and prayers that specifically conclude the Divine Liturgy and that present a continual development, since the original dismissal elements weakened with the passage of time. And we noted on another occasion that the original dismissal was the deacon's command, "Let us go forth in peace."[1047] The prayer behind the ambōn was then added as a dismissal prayer of blessing. Next, the new blessing of the people with, "May the blessing [and mercy] of the Lord come upon you...."[1048] Later, the new dismissal "May Christ our true God...."[1049] After—from the monasteries—came "Through the prayers..."[1050] and, finally, all the above elements that we mentioned at the beginning.

1043. "—Γένοιτο, Κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἠλπίσαμεν ἐπὶ σέ. —Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη ὑμῶν, ἀξιομακάριστοι καὶ ἀείμνηστοι κτίτορες. —Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη αὐτῶν. —Δι' εὐχῶν..."

1044. "Ἡ ἁγία Τριὰς διαφυλάξοι [ἢ διαφυλάξαι] πάντας ὑμᾶς."

1045. "Τοὺς κοπιῶντας καὶ ψάλλοντας, Κύριε, φύλαττε εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη."

1046. "Ἡ ἁγία Τριὰς διαφυλάξαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ."

1047. "Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν."

1048. "Εὐλογία Κυρίου [καὶ ἔλεος] ἔλθοι ἐφ' ὑμᾶς..."

1049. "Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν..."

1050. "Δι' εὐχῶν..."

However, from what we saw above, we are entitled to assume that we do not only have prayers of the priest towards the people, as are most of the phrases above, but also commensurate responses of the people to these prayers of the priest, namely, a kind of exchange of sacred courtesies at the conclusion of the service. The fact that we do not have as much evidence for these as for the priestly prayers towards the people is explained by the fact that the books that preserve them for us are priestly texts, namely, being intended for celebrants, and contain whatever it is expected for them to say. There rarely exist indications regarding the responses of the people. The fact that in "O Lord, protect...," we have a prayer of popular composition is seen by "for many years"[1051] that it contains, namely, a prayer that is so common in popular greetings.[1052] In any case, the more ancient and attested of this series of ancient courtesies is "Through prayers of our holy fathers..."[1053] addressed by the priest to the fathers/monks present, from whose practice[1054] it also originates, as we already said (see also, "Through the prayers of our holy father[1055]—namely, the abbot—...").[1056] The case of the hierarchical dismissal is more characteristic, where we discern a polite competition for humility, since, while the hierarch calls upon the prayers of the fathers, the latter calls upon that of the bishop ("Through the prayers of our holy fathers..." — "Through the prayers of our holy master..."[1057]).

1051. "εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη."

1052. In the monasteries of Mount Athos and elsewhere, monastic custom avoids such wishes of "many years" on earth. The reason for this avoidance is a focus on the afterlife with the result that even on feast days where a monk may be named after a saint, the common secular greeting "Χρόνια πολλά" ("Many years") has been transformed to "Καλὸ παράδεισο" (Good paradise), a wish that we all enter paradise. The latter reflects a focus on the spiritual rather than the worldly. This focus could also provide an explanation as to why a polychronismos for the celebrant was not adopted on the Holy Mountain, as Phountoulēs observes.

1053. "Δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν..."

1054. Namely, from the practice of the monasteries.

1055. "Δι' εὐχῶν τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν..."

1056. See question 110.

1057. "Δι' εὐχῶν τοῦ ἁγίου δεσπότου ἡμῶν..."

Starting off from these elements that contemporary practice offers us, we must trace them to the older practice with the help of manuscripts in order for us to see whether this polychronismos is attested to by tradition, and to which era approximately its origins can be traced. We already assumed, likely from intuition, that it must be connected with the prayers of the priest towards the people at the conclusion of the Liturgy and is included in some dialogue between priest and people.

The old and great majority of later manuscripts have no related indication. We also observe the same thing in the old, but also in many newer, printed editions of Euchologia and Hieratika. In quite a few manuscripts of the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, the later priestly blessings are encountered under various similar forms: "May the Lord God protect you all by his grace and love for humanity always, now and ever, and to the ages of ages"[1058] (*Codices Athens 751, 765, 767, 770, 771, 773, 780; Esphigmenou 120; Timiou Staurou Kōnstantinoupoleōs 425*); "May God protect you [or us] all through his own goodness"[1059] (*Athens 752*); "May the Lord preserve us all" (*Athens 750, 764*); "May the Holy Trinity preserve and save us all"[1060] (*Athens 668*). In any event, the evidence is unanimous that this prayer is said while the priest blesses the people ("while turning towards the people, he says" or "he blesses the people, while saying" or "and while turning towards the people, blessing them he says"), when, after the distribution of the antidōron and "Through the prayers..." (formerly, the dismissal "May Christ our true God..." was also said after the distribution of the antidōron), and after the consumption of the Holy Elements and the taking off of the vestments, the priest came out and prepared to depart.

And what did the people respond with to this priestly blessing? Many of the manuscripts above do not say anything. But they add "the people: Amen." For the reason we stated above, few manuscripts, but valuable for our inquiry, also preserve the responses of

1058. "Φυλάξαι [ἢ φυλάξοι] Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων."

1059. "Φυλάττοι ὁ Θεὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς [ἢ ἡμᾶς] διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητος."

1060. "Ἡ ἁγία Τριὰς φυλάξει καὶ σώσει πάντας ἡμᾶς."

the people. One manuscript of the fifteenth century, which contains the taxis for the Divine Liturgy "in the venerable Lavra on the Holy Mountain of Athos" places the blessing[1061] of the founders of the monastery after the conclusion of the service and the prayer of the priest: "We bless the founders of the monastery, after we go forth from the temple"[1062] (*Codex Sinai 986*). This rubric is reminiscent of "May your memory be eternal, O founders, ever remembered and worthy of blessedness,"[1063] which we saw above, while "O Lord, may your mercy come upon us..."[1064] is encountered in the same place in the *Codex Esphigmenou 120*. Again, in the same place, in the *Codices Sinai 1020* and *Patmos 709* from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, another polychronismos chanted by the people is encountered: "May God protect the holy and Orthodox faith of pious and Orthodox Christians."[1065] It is certain that these polychronismoi have replaced the polychronismoi for the emperors, just as also happens in divine worship in other instances. The fact that they used to wish many years to the emperors at precisely this point in the Divine Liturgy, namely, after the conclusion of the entire service, is attested to for us by the *Codex Patriarchate of Alexandria 224* from the sixteenth century ("we customarily wish many years to the emperors"),[1066] and Symeōn of Thessaloniki: "Then [after the distribution of the antidōron and the dismissal] immediately the choir of chanters prays for the emperors with a hymn and for the hierarch himself, acclaiming not simply the man, but also praying that the faithful empire and the Orthodox high-priesthood endure, and that the work of the sacred-service be carried out for us in an unhindered manner always. Having sealed them and the people three times..." (*Dialogue*, chapter 100).[1067]

1061. "μακαρισμός."

1062. "Ἡμεῖς δὲ μακαρίζομεν τοὺς κτίτορας τῆς μονῆς, εἶθ' οὕτως ἐξερχόμεθα τοῦ ναοῦ."

1063. "Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη ὑμῶν, ἀξιομακάριστοι καὶ ἀείμνηστοι κτίτορες."

1064. "Γένοιτο, Κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς..."

1065. "Φυλάττοι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν."

1066. "ἡμεῖς δὲ πολυχρονοῦμεν τοὺς βασιλεῖς συνήθως."

1067. Translation modified from Steven Hawkes-Teeples, *St. Symeōn of Thessalonika*, 264–265.

The *Codex Koutloumousiou 341* from the sixteenth century preserves the tradition closest to our contemporary practice: "And turning towards the people, he says: 'May the Lord protect us all.' And we say: 'May the Lord protect those who bless and serve and sanctify us to the ages of ages.'" If this testimony is combined with that of Symeōn, which we saw and which refers to the hierarchal Liturgy, we already have a polychronismos for the celebrants in a similar form to the one prevalent nowadays. Finally, the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy of our Father Among the Saints Iōannēs Chrysostomos,* which is published by J. Goar in his *Euchologion*, second edition, Venice 1730, p. 69, gives us a detailed description of the end of the Liturgy and of the dialogue between priest and people at the moment of their departure from the temple: "Then [the priest] goes out to the doors of the holy bēma clothed in his priestly vestment and makes a prostration while saying 'O God, have mercy on me the sinner.' And turning towards the people, he blesses, while saying in an exclamatory manner, 'May the Lord God protect you all by his grace and love for humanity always now and ever and to the ages of ages. Amen.' The people, while bowing their heads, say, 'O Lord, protect for many years the one who blesses and sanctifies us.' And they depart in peace with holy God."[1068]

Summarizing we synopsize the above:

The polychronismos of the celebrants by the people is placed within the dialogue of the priest and people that took place after the dismissal of the entire Divine Liturgy and constitutes a courteous response of the people to analogous prayers of the priest for them. The witnesses for this dialogue begin from the thirteenth century. However, perhaps the phrase, "O Lord, protect for many years the one who blesses and sanctifies us," is older, even if the manuscript tradition is silent. We can suspect this from the obvious influence of the common prayer behind the ambōn: "O Lord, who blesses those who bless you, and who sanctifies…bless …protect, sanctify…" //

1068. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, 69.

"O Lord, protect for many years the one who blesses and sanctifies us."[1069] It is likely that the people have chanted this polychronismos ever since the prayer behind the ambōn was the dismissal prayer, before the later successive dismissal blessings were added, or, at least in an era when the dismissal role of the prayer behind the ambōn had not yet been forgotten.[1070]

It remains for us to have a look at the modern printed editions to keep up with recent developments. The old editions of the Euchologia and Hieratika, as we saw, follow the older manuscripts, and do not make mention of these polychronismoi, which were done, if they were done, according to custom ("customarily")[1071] and oral tradition. In the printed editions of the Hieratikon of Apostolikē Diakonia, a tendency is observed for publishing this practice and its modernization. Thus, in the printed editions of 1951 and 1968, after "Through the prayers..." and prior to the distribution of the antidōron, "the priest, while blessing the people, says: 'May the Holy Trinity preserve you all.' And the people pray in return for him while saying: 'O Lord, protect for many years the one who blesses and sanctifies us.'" In the original place of the polychronismos, namely, during the departure of the priest from the temple, the blessing remains, "He departs to his home, while praying for and blessing the pious, and saying: 'May the Lord God preserve all pious and orthodox Christians, who reside in this city [land or island] and parish with their wives and children.'" In the 1962 edition, and in the last edition of 1977,[1072] this blessing (modified in the 1977 edition) is also transferred before the distribution of antidōron and is attached to "O Lord, protect..." as, in some way, a new response of the priest

1069. "Ὁ εὐλογῶν τοὺς εὐλογοῦντας σε, Κύριε, καὶ ἁγιάζων... εὐλόγησον... φύλαξον, ἁγίασον" // "Τὸν εὐλογοῦντα καὶ ἁγιάζοντα ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, φύλαττε εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη."

1070. For a recent study of the prayer behind the ambōn, see Robert F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Vol. V, The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, OCA 281 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2008), 592–698.

1071. "συνήθως."

1072. Since 1977, the Apostolikē Diakonia has published a number of editions of the Hieratikon.

to the latter: "May the Lord God protect you all by his grace and love for humanity always, now and ever, and to the ages of ages. Amen."[1073] These adaptations are responding to new circumstances. The faithful, as is well-known, no longer remain in the temple after the distribution of the antidōron, waiting, as before, for the priest to also finish, but almost immediately leave when they receive the antidōron. Consequently, the blessings and polychronismoi would be inopportune if they remained at the very end.

397

In the prayer of inclination for the Great and the Small Hagiasmos, "Incline you ear, O Lord . . . ,"[1074] the phrase exists, "διὰ τῆς κλίσεως τοῦ ἑαυτῶν αὐχένος σημαίνοντας τὸ τῆς δουλείας πρόσχημα."[1075] Some claim that the word "πρόσχημα" is a mistake and that the correct one is "σχῆμα." What must we say?

We also wrote in the past that the correction of our liturgical texts must not be arbitrarily done with our own personal criteria, but on the basis of the facts of our liturgical tradition, namely, after a thorough study of the manuscripts and other sources. And the writer even heard on the radio the prayer being recited and "σχῆμα" being said instead of "πρόσχημα."

It is apparently a correction that is clearly owed to reasons of piety. The word "πρόσχημα," according to lexicons, while it has the same meaning that the word "σχῆμα" has, namely, "appearance, sight, condition,"[1076] on the other hand also has the meaning of "cover,"[1077] "acting, pretense, false pretext."[1078] It is customarily used with this second meaning in our modern language. The one who thought up this correction would like to avoid the possible misinterpretation and to denote, when using the word "σχῆμα," our unhypocritical

1073. "Φυλάξαι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς τῇ αὐτοῦ θείᾳ χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν."

1074. "Κλῖνον, Κύριε, τὸ οὖς σου..."

1075. "Signifying by the bending of our own neck the πρόσχημα [appearance, sight, condition] of servitude."

1076. "ὄψις, θέα, κατάστασις."

1077. "τοῦ προκαλύμματος."

1078. "ὑποκρίσεως, προσποιήσεως, ψεδοῦς προφάσεως."

and unaffected servitude to God. No one has doubts concerning this, nor also the good and pious intention of the corrector. The objection is found in the ways of expressing our piety and in its limits. Especially in our liturgical practice, which is not our work alone, but also that of the entire Church, within which we are also integrated; our individual piety is subordinated to and follows our ecclesiastical tradition and is limited by it. Otherwise, it is arbitrary, egotistical, and destructive for our liturgical traditions and forms.

There does not exist any room for correction on this point. All the manuscripts, even all our printed liturgical books, which contain this prayer, deliver to us an indisputably precise text without any variation. The word "πρόσχημα" exists everywhere. The same word exists with the same meaning in the prayer of inclination after the "Our Father" of the Alexandrian Liturgy of Saint Markos: "Σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν τὸν αὐχένα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, τὸ τῆς δουλείας πρόσχημα σημαίνοντες"[1079] (We inclined to you the neck of our souls and bodies signifying the πρόσχημα [appearance, sight, condition] of servitude). Every correction, from whatever motive it comes from, is unfounded and reprehensible.

398

At "God is the Lord . . ."[1080] of Matins, the Slavic Hōrologia have as the first verse, "Acknowledge the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endures forever,"[1081] while the Greek ones have, "Acknowledge the Lord, and call on his holy name."[1082] Which of the two is correct?

The answer to this question presupposes what we already wrote concerning the prokeimena (question 340) and especially concerning the invariable prokeimenon for the gospel reading of Matins, "Let

1079. Ἰωάννης Φουντούλης, *Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι, Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς*, Τεῦχος 3′ (Θεσσαλονίκη: Μέλισσα, 1994), 27–28; Geoffrey J. Cuming, ed., *The Liturgy of Saint Mark*, OCA 234 (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 52–53, 139.

1080. "Θεὸς Κύριος..."

1081. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἀγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ."

1082. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ."

everything that has breath..."[1083] (question 307).[1084] Because while, yes, "God is the Lord" is not named with this technical term ("prokeimenon"),[1085] it is essentially a prokeimenon as regards to its structure and manner of chanting. According to the inviolable rule that applies for all the cases of prokeimena parallel to the present one, the verse/prokeimenon, which is taken from one psalm and is prefixed ("πρόκειται") during the chanting, is always chanted with stichologia with verses taken from the same psalm from which the prokeimenon has been taken. Here, the prokeimenon verse is taken from Psalm 117 (v. 27a, "God is the Lord and has appeared to us,"[1086] and 26a, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord"[1087]). According to the rule above, the verses that follow should come from the same psalm, 117. Indeed, Psalm 117:10 is the second verse ("All the nations surrounded me, and in the name of the Lord I warded them off"),[1088] and Psalm 117:23 is the third verse ("This was from the Lord, and it is marvelous in our eyes").[1089] In the Slavonic Hōrologia, even here, there exists a difference: there are four verses, because "God is the Lord," just as also the triple "Alleluia" of Great Lent, is similarly chanted with four verses. Psalm 117:10 is second (just as also in the Greek Hōrologia), 117:17 is third ("I shall not die, but I shall live and recount the deeds of the Lord"),[1090] and 117:22–23 is fourth ("A stone which the builders rejected, this one became the chief cornerstone; this was from the Lord, and it is marvelous in our eyes").[1091] Again, all the verses come from Psalm 117.

However, the first verse in the Greek tradition has been taken from Psalm 104 (verse 1, "Acknowledge the Lord, and call on his holy name"), while in the Slavonic, from Psalm 117 (verse 1, "Give

1083. "Πᾶσα πνοή..."

1084. On the prokeimenon in this volume, also see questions 307, 315, 340, 344, and 399.

1085. "προκείμενον, τό."

1086. "Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν."

1087. "Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου."

1088. "Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκύκλωσάν με καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἠμυνάμην αὐτούς."

1089. "Παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν."

1090. "Οὐκ ἀποθανοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ ζήσομαι καὶ διηγήσομαι τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου."

1091. "Λίθον, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν."

thanks to the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endures forever"). According to the same general rule, which we saw, the first verse of the prokeimenon must be the first verse of the psalm from which the prokeimenon comes, unless the first verse has been chosen as the prokeimenon, then the stichologia begins from the second verse of the psalm. Here, since the first verse is not taken as a prokeimenon, but rather 27a and 26a, consequently the first verse of Psalm 117 must be a first verse. Therefore, it is obvious that the Greek text is erroneous in comparison to the Slavonic, which must be the correct one.

We conclude these things from the general principles that apply regarding prokeimena. However, since there is a likelihood in our case for there to exist even the sole exception, we should not limit ourselves to general principles alone, but we should turn to the printed edition and manuscript tradition for us to see what is precisely happening, and how the chance exception or this mistake is justified.

The use of "God is the Lord" nowadays is very widespread. It is chanted at all Matins, apart from only during the period of the Great Lent (except Saturday and Sunday), the first five days of Great Week, and of Pascha and its week.[1092] It is likewise also chanted in the services that have been compiled in imitation of a festal Matins, such as the Small Hagiasmos and the Paraklēseis. However, we find the verses that accompany its chanting only in the Hōrologion. In other liturgical books—the Euchologion, Typikon, Mēnaia, Triōdion, Pentēkostarion, and so forth—only the standard rubric exists, "We chant 'God is the Lord'"[1093] or "at the 'God is the Lord,'"[1094] and the like. The verses are supposedly known by heart from daily practice. Formerly, the chanting of "God is the Lord" was much more limited. Originally, it was chanted only on Sundays, and apparently also during the resurrectional period, since Psalm 117 had a resurrectional

1092. Namely, the week following Pascha, the Renewal Week.

1093. "Ψάλλομεν τὸ 'Θεὸς Κύριος.'"

1094. "εἰς τὸ 'Θεὸς Κύριος.'" For example, "εἰς τὸ 'Θεὸς Κύριος,' τὸ Ἀπολυτίκιον Ἀναστάσιμον..."

character according to the ecclesiastical patristic interpretation (see Athanasios the Great, *Commentaries on the Psalms*, for Psalm 117: "And which one might it be than the resurrection day of the Lord? What day is this but the day of salvation for all the nations, on which the stone that was rejected became the chief cornerstone? The word signifies the resurrection day of the Savior, the day that has become named after him, namely, Κυριακή"[1095]).

For their resurrectional meaning, many verses of Psalm 117 were or even are used as verses in the Paschal service (for example, verse 20, "This is the gate...,"[1096] verse 24, "This is the day that the Lord made...,"[1097] verse 27b, "Arrange a feast...,"[1098] and so forth). And the verses that were selected for the chanting of "God is the Lord," despite the relative variance that the manuscripts present, have also themselves a resurrectional character and prophetically refer to Christ's victory through the Resurrection over forces hostile to God.

The use of "God is the Lord" afterwards expanded, by the influence of the Sundays, also to the great feasts of the Lord, since the psalm according to patristic interpretation, apart from its resurrectional meaning, also referred to Christ's advent in the world (see Athanasios the Great, *Commentaries on the Psalms*, Psalm 117; Eusebios of Caesarea, *Commentary on the Psalms*, Psalm 117[1099]). Symeōn of Thessaloniki and the Typikon of the Monastery of the Savior of Messina characteristically emphasize this joyful and the festive character of the chanting of "God is the Lord": "And 'God is

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1095. PG 27:480a. On this work, see Giovanni Maria Vian, *Testi Inediti dal Commento al Salmi di Atanasio*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 14 (Roma: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum," 1978) and G.C. Stead, "St. Athanasius on the Psalms," *Vigilae Christianae* 39 (1985): 65–78. The Greek word, "Κυριακή," literally means "the day belonging to the Lord," (Lampe, s.v. "κυριακός").

1096. "Αὕτη ἡ πύλη..."

1097. "Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος..."

1098. "Συστήσασθε ἑορτήν..."

1099. PG 23:1362d–1365d. On this work, see Michael J. Hollerich, "*Eusebius' Commentary on the Psalms* and Its Place in the Origins of Christian Biblical Scholarship," in *Eusebius of Caesarea: Tradition and Innovations*, ed. Aaron Johnson and Jeremy Schott, Hellenic Studies Series 60 (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2013), 262–291.

the Lord' is melodiously loudly sung in imitation of the glorifying angels. And most fitting is what is said, 'God is the Lord and has appeared to us,' the Word of God having been made flesh. 'Blessed is he who comes,' himself as God through the flesh. 'In the name of the Lord,' of his Father and his own" (Symeōn of Thessaloniki, *Dialogue*, chapter 309).[1100] "On the most conspicuous and festal days, we clearly and gracefully cry out, 'God is the Lord and has appeared to us,' as if perceiving in reality divine illumination in some manner suddenly appearing and shining round us, and driving away as far as possible any cloud of gloom and sadness, and bestowing freely to us the marvelous and most clear sky of joy. Rejoicing over these things, and not being able to contain unexpressed in ourselves the magnitude of gladness, but out of pleasure loudly shouting, when making known the delight that mystically takes place and announcing the good news to one another..." (*Typikon of the Monastery of the Savior of Messina*, Appendix 15).[1101] This joyful character of "God is the Lord..." contributed to its chanting also rapidly spreading to other feasts and to feasts of great saints, and finally being generalized, as we saw, to the entire liturgical year except Great Lent. All these things had effects on the chanting of "God is the Lord," and especially on the insertion of the psalmic verses that accompanied it.

We saw that the Greek and Slavonic traditions differ as to the selection of the first verse. In all the printed Hōrologia, while the Greek ones have "Acknowledge the Lord and call on his holy name" (Psalm 104:1) as the first verse, the Slavonic have "Acknowledge the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endures forever" (Psalm 117:1). The Romanian and Melkite editions agree with the Greek. The "Hōrologion" of the Monastery of Kryptopherrēs agrees with the Slavonic.[1102]

1100. PG 155:565d.

1101. Miguel Arranz, *Le typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensis gr 115, A.D. 1131*, OCA 185 (Rome: Pointicium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1969), 292.

1102. *Ὡρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ Ἁγίῳ περιέχον τὴν ἡμερονύκτιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀκολουθίαν τῆς Ἱερᾶς καὶ περιβλέπτου Μονῆς τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης* (Ἐν Κρυπτοφέρρῃ: n.p., 1950), 40. "Ἡ Μονῆ τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης" is the Monastery of Grottaferrata founded in 1004 and located near Rome. For a comparative

However, the same does not also occur in the manuscripts. Of the twenty-three manuscript Hōrologia, which I was able to see and which cover nearly the entire period of the manuscript tradition from the eleventh up until the seventeenth centuries, eighteen, namely, the overwhelming majority, have "Acknowledge the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endures forever" (Psalm 117:1) as the first verse (*National Library of Athens 33, 664; Vatopediou 1235, 1250; Dionysiou 398, 435; Ivērōn 782; Karakallou 189; Koutloumousiou 391; Kōnstamonitou 26, 80; Leimōnos 295; Panteleēmonos 71, 319, 360; National Library of Paris 331; Sinai 866; Philotheou 218*). Therefore, there is no doubt that the manuscripts confirm the hypotheses we formulated above that they were based on the general principles that apply in the composition of prokeimena. The correct verse is 117:1. Its replacement by 104:1 is due to an error. However, how this came about, we shall see explained in the remaining five manuscripts of the twenty-three that we mentioned above.

And these five manuscripts date back to the fifteenth century, namely, to an era in which "God is the Lord" had gained quite a bit of ground at the expense of "Alleluia." Its frequent use began to spoil it. In everyday use, verses were said by heart, since also indeed in some manuscripts, especially in Mēnaia, the verses were not recorded at all. But also, copyists of Hōrologia many times even wrote them from memory. For precisely this reason, the copyist of the *Codex Dionysiou 441* slips with the very well-known verse of the polyeleos "for the Lord is good"[1103] (Psalm 134:3), and the copyist of the *Codex Athens 848* probably accidently puts the beginning of the twenty-first verse of Psalm 117 ("I will acknowledge you")[1104] instead of the first verse. Moreover, confusion was easy because the phrase, "Acknowledge the Lord,"[1105] is also a very common beginning of

study of this edition with others, see Ἰωάννης Φουντούλης, "Αἱ ἀκολουθίαι τῶν ὡρῶν τοῦ νυχθημέρου κατὰ τὸ ὡρολόγιον τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης, ἐν συγκρίσει πρὸς τὸ Κωνσταντινουπολιτικὸν ὡρολόγιον" in *La Chiesa Greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 aprile-4 maggio 1969)*, Italia Sacra, 22 (Padova: Antenore, 1972), 2:579–588.

1103. "ὅτι ἀγαθὸς Κύριος."

1104. "Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι."

1105. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ."

other psalmic verses, which the monastic copyists knew by heart from their daily liturgical use. Thus, apart from the first and twenty-ninth verses of Psalm 117, the verses of Psalms 32:2, 104:1, 105:1, 106:1, and 135:1, 3 begin with the same phrase. Indeed, four out of the five psalms above have "Acknowledge the Lord"[1106] as their initial phrase, just as also Psalm 117.

However, the most common mistake was the change to the initial verse of Psalm 104, which is encountered in three of the twenty-three manuscripts above: *Vatopediou 1249, Ivērōn 774*, and *Philotheou 191*. And, again, here the quotation is done from memory because while in the codex of *Vatopediou,* verse 117:10 (third verse of "God is the Lord") is written "... and in his name ..."[1107] instead of ". . . and in the name of the Lord I warded them off,"[1108] verse 104:1 of *Ivērōn* is mixed up with the well-known verse from the typika, 102:1. Namely, instead of "... his name,"[1109] which the text of the verse 104:1 has in all the manuscript Psalters, it becomes "his holy name,"[1110] a mix up that finally became prevalent for the reason above in Greek liturgical practice. As for the printed books, which unanimously quote the incorrect verse, this has no particular significance. Given that this mistake was already pointed out in the later manuscripts, perhaps the sole manuscript Hōrologion, on which the first printed edition was based, would simply have this verse instead of the other, and thus the mistake became widespread and was perpetuated.

We synopsize: The first verse of "God is the Lord" is "Acknowledge the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endures forever"[1111] (Psalm 117:1) and not "Acknowledge the Lord and call on his [holy] name"[1112] (Psalm 104:1), as it is published in the printed Greek Hōrologia. The first is the correct one, as consistent with the liturgical structure of "God is the Lord," with the manuscript tradition and with the prac-

1106. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ."
1107. "...καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ..."
1108. "...καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἠμυνάμην αὐτούς."
1109. "...τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ."
1110. "τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ."
1111. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἀγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ."
1112. "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ."

tice of the Slavic churches. The second comes from the erroneous copying of the verse from memory in later Greek manuscripts.[1113]

399

Why is "Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν . . ." (The Lord reigned . . .) chanted as a prokeimenon in Saturday Vespers, and why does the aorist[1114] "ἐβασίλευσεν" (reigned) exist in it, while it is well known from Holy Scripture that the Lord βασιλεύει (reigns)[1115] eternally?[1116]

According to the interpretation of Symeōn of Thessaloniki, the prokeimena of Vespers are "introductions of the feasts and the coming days"[1117] and "the prophecy concerning the feast, a psalmic verse teaching about this day,"[1118] is contained in them (*Dialogue*, chapter 337).[1119] More specifically, the prokeimenon of Saturday Vespers, according to the same author, "testifies to matters concerning the Resurrection, on account of which 'The Lord reigned' is then chanted. For the Risen One has prevailed and reigned over death, and 'robed' in 'majesty' the incorruption of our nature, and

1113. A correction is reflected in recent published editions such as the *Ἐγκόλπιον Ἀναγνώστου καὶ Ψάλτου* of the Apostlikē Diakonia and the *Συλλειτουργικὸν* of the Monastery of Simōnopetra. For these corrections, see *Ἐγκόλπιον Ἀναγνώστου καὶ Ψάλτου*, 6th ed. (Ἀθῆναι: Ἔκδοσις τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2005), 92; and *Συλλειτουργικὸν, ἤτοι Ἡ Τάξις Ἀναγνώστου καὶ Ψάλτου*, 8th ed. (Ἅγιον Ὄρος: Ἔκδοσις Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας, 2014), 63. The correction is also reflected in some recent publications of the Hōrologion. These recent publications reflect the continuing and major influence of Phountoulēs on the Church's liturgical life and practice.

1114. The aorist indicative is a past tense of a Greek verb that indicates something that occurred in the past as simple or undefined as to completeness, duration, and repetition. For a basic introduction to the aorist, see *The Joint Association of Classical Teachers, Reading Greek: Grammar, Vocabulary, and Exercises*, 2nd ed. (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

1115. "βασιλεύει." The verb here is in the present tense.

1116. On the prokeimenon in this volume, see questions 307, 315, 340, 344, and 398.

1117. "τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων ἡμερῶν προοίμια."

1118. "ἡ περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς προφητεία, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκδιδάσκον ψαλμικόν."

1119. PG 155: 612a, 609b.

28:18, Luke 1:33, and so forth). The aorist is used with the sense of the present indefinite tense.[1126]

400

In the printed edition of the Hieratikon (The Divine Liturgies . . .) by N. K. Prōtopsaltidēs, in Constantinople 1875, page 33, after "Among the first, O Lord, remember . . ."[1127] the following is written: "Then the deacon, standing before the door, says '[For][1128] [name] the Most All-Sacred Metropolitan . . . and of all men and women.'"[1129] What is this, and why is it not said nowadays?

This refers to the conclusion of the diptychs of the living, which was recited by the deacon at this point in the Divine Liturgy.

Namely, in the prayer of the holy anaphora of the Divine Liturgy, after the consecration of the precious gifts, according to the most ancient tradition, the commemoration of names of the faithful, those living and having "fallen asleep," is done together with other general supplicatory petitions that the Church offers at that time. Saint Kyrillos of Jerusalem and the sacred Chrysostomos attest to this and comment on it: "Then, after completing the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless worship, in the presence of that sacrifice of atonement we entreat God for the common peace of the churches, for the stability of the world, for emperors, for soldiers and allies, for

1126. For the influence of the phrase "The Lord reigned..." (Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν...) on a Modern Greek language cognate signifying the setting of the sun (Ὁ ἥλιος βασιλεύει), see the study, M. Κριαράς, *Βασιλεύει ὁ ἥλιος* (Ἀθῆναι: Τύποις Παρασκευὰ Λεώνη, 1937).

1127. "Ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κύριε..."

1128. Robert Taft believes that the word "for" can be implied, see Robert F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Vol. IV, The Diptychs*, OCA 238 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1991), 14.

1129. "Εἶτα ὁ διάκονος πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ στάς, λέγει 'Τοῦ (δεῖνος) πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου... καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν.'" Ν. Κ. Πρωτοψαλτίδης, *Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι τῶν ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου σὺν τῇ τῶν Προηγιασμένων, μετὰ τοῦ Λυχνικοῦ Ὄρθρου, καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροδιακονικοῦ, Ἀκριβῶς ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσαι καὶ πλουτισθεῖσαι δι' ὑποσημειώσεων περιέργων, παρὰ τοῦ παναγιωτάτου καὶ σεβασμιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Κωνσταντίου τοῦ Α'. τοῦ ἀπὸ Σιναΐου* (Κωνσταντινούπολις: ἐκ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου, 1875), 33.

[illegible]

and afterwards of the living. In the commemorations by name of those who "reposed in the faith,"[1134] a beginning is made from the most holy Theotokos, and the Forerunner, the apostles, and the saint of the day are afterwards commemorated in order for the relevant petition for those who have "fallen asleep" to follow, in which the priest also inserts names "of the dead, as he wishes."[1135] Again, in the commemorations by name of the living, a beginning is made ("among the first")[1136] from the name of the archbishop of the eparchy. From what we can gather from the other parallel Liturgies, such as the Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos and the Armenian Liturgy, but also from certain ancient manuscripts of our two Liturgies, the commemorated names of the saints were much more numerous (for example, they exceed over one hundred in the *Codices Sinai 1020* and *Timiou Staurou Kōnstantinoupoleōs 425*). However, the diptychs that contained the names of those who have "fallen asleep" and of the living were read by the deacon. After the exclamation "Especially for our most holy…"[1137] and, originally, as it appears, after the phrase of the prayer "wherever the light of your countenance oversees,"[1138] the deacon interjected and in a low voice read the diptychs of those who have "fallen asleep." The witness of the acts of the Council in Constantinople from the year 536 is characteristic, according to which during the reading of the diptychs, "with great stillness, the entire multitude gathered around the altar and listened. And as (καὶ ὡς) the names of the aforementioned holy four councils were said only by the deacon, as well as of the archbishops Euphēmios, Makedonios, and Leōn of blessed memory, all with a loud voice cried out, 'Glory to you, O Lord.'"[1139] The twelfth-century *Codex Sinai 973* agrees with this taxis: "[the priest:] …the light of your countenance. [the

1134. "ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων."
1135. "ὧν βούλεται τεθνεώτων."
1136. "ἐν πρώτοις."
1137. "Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας…"
1138. "ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου."
1139. E. Schartz, ed., *Collectio Sabbaitica contra Acephalos et Origeniastas destinate. Insunt act synodorum Constantinopolitanae et Hierosolymitanae a. 536*, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum III (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1940), 76, 20–25. Phountoulēs slightly modified the quote with the addition of the word "ὡς" set off in the text above by parentheses.

deacon:] the diptychs of those who have 'fallen asleep.' [the priest:] Again we beseech you, remember...."

Gradually, the practice became prevalent for the deacon to inaudibly read the diptychs of those who have "fallen asleep" immediately after "Especially...," while at the same time the priest recited the continuation of the prayer: "For Saint Iōannēs..." before the priest "in a loud voice"[1140] or "loudly"[1141] exclaimed, "Among the first, O Lord, remember...." The deacon only said the conclusion of the diptychs of those who have "fallen asleep:" "and those whom each has in mind, and of all men and women."[1142] The people responded, "And of all men and women."[1143] The diptychs of those who have "fallen asleep" and their conclusion were said by the deacon "from within the bēma."[1144]

Immediately after the exclamation, "Among the first, O Lord, remember..." (the beginning, as we said, of the commemoration of the living by name) the deacon again, or the archdeacon, "from within the bēma" and "within earshot of all,"[1145] or, according to the majority of manuscripts, "before the gates"[1146] or "standing towards the gate,"[1147] recited the diptychs of the living, which also closed with a conclusion analogous to the previous one: "And of all men and women." After these things, the priest continued with the prayer, "Remember, O Lord, the city...,"[1148] or, in a later period, he read it when the deacon recited the diptychs of the living. And again, the people answered, "And of all men and women." Namely, we have "And of all men and women" twice from the people: once prior to "Among the first, O Lord, remember...," and once after this, namely, the first time as an answer to the conclusion of the diptychs of those who have "fallen asleep," and the second to that of the living. This

1140. "μεγαλοφώνως."
1141. "μεγάλως."
1142. "Καὶ ὧν ἕκαστος κατὰ διάνοιαν ἔχει καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν."
1143. "Καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν."
1144. "ἔνδοθεν τοῦ βήματος."
1145. "εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων."
1146. "πρὸ τῆς θύρας."
1147. "πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ στάς."
1148. "Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς πόλεως..."

taxis was generally widespread, as we can gather from the many witnesses that we have from the manuscript tradition, despite some small differences in details (for example, see the *Codices Athens 754, 860, 861*; *Byzantine Museum 14*; *Patriarchate of Alexandria 371*; *M. Lavras Δ 80*; *Timiou Staurou Kōnstantinoupoleōs 425*; *Hagiou Saba 362/607*; *Sinai 973, 986, 1040*; *The Most Precise Diataxis*[1149] in *Codex Paris 385*; and *The Diataxis of Philotheos* in *Codex Esphigmenou 120*).

It is a fact that some relative ambiguity exists in a few other manuscripts. For example, after "Especially…" and after "Among the first…," the rubric is respectively inserted: "the deacon the diptychs of those who have 'fallen asleep'" and "the deacon the diptychs of the living," without further specifying how these concluded or what the people answered. This is explained from the fact that these manuscripts are "Hieratika"[1150] and, as we saw in other instances, they record only what pertains to the priest, and here simply reminded him with a brief rubric that the deacon would interject himself. What he would have said was written in the "Diakonika,"[1151] manuscripts specifically intended for the deacon. It is also due to an analogous reason that an incomplete description exists in the *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos of the *Codex Panteleēmonos 6277-770*, and in *Diataxis of the Divine Liturgy* from the *Codex Athens 662*.[1152] The first speaks regarding the commemoration of the diptychs by the deacon "to himself,"[1153] before and after "Among the first…," but does not say whether he exclaimed the conclusion and what the people answered. The second notes that "before the priest says, 'Among the first…,' the deacon says, 'And all men and women.' After the exclamation, the deacon commemorates the diptychs of the living," but does not specify what form the diptychs of the living had, nor does it make mention of the people's responses. Yet other manuscripts (*Athens 752, 765, 770*) note that the deacon commemorates "to himself" the diptychs of the living, namely, "the abbot, the brotherhood, and others he wishes."[1154]

1149. "Διάταξις ἀκριβεστάτη."
1150. "Ἱερατικά."
1151. "Διακονικά."
1152. Τρεμπέλας, *Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*,12.
1153. "καθ' ἑαυτόν."
1154. "τοῦ τε ἡγουμένου καὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος, καὶ ἑτέρων ὧν βούλεται."

The commemoration of the diptychs during the prayer of the anaphora, as we saw it delineated in the manuscript tradition, suffered a serious alteration with the passage of time. This is due to two main reasons: on one hand, to the development of the service of the prothesis (proskomidē) and, on the other hand, to the absence of a deacon. The proskomidē, after its transfer from the cheroubikon to the time prior to the enarxis of the Divine Liturgy, was developed into an independent rite, and with the later introduction of the particles for the saints and for the living and the dead, gradually absorbed the commemoration of the saints and of the diptychs of the Divine Liturgy. Thus, the commemoration was also done with more ease, and the delay that the reading of many names would cause during the anaphora was avoided. Certainly, both commemorations had to be retained in an interim stage, both during the anaphora and at the prothesis, as moreover we also saw in some manuscripts. Finally, the proskomidē alone kept the nominal commemoration, but not in their original order as it was in the anaphora (saints – those who have "fallen asleep" – living), but somewhat mixed up (saints – living – dead – celebrant priest). Only traces of the diptychs remained in the anaphora.

The absence of a deacon coincided with the transfer of the diptychs to the prothesis. When the priest served alone, as was the norm in later times, it was more practical for him to read the many names of the saints and of the diptychs at the prothesis rather than at the anaphora. Given that the diptychs were no longer said at the anaphora, it was expected for their conclusion and the responses of the people also not to be said. But even when a deacon rarely concelebrated, the tradition began to exhibit the consequences of the corruption that had taken place in the meantime. Thus, in the *Codex Timiou Staurou Kōnstantinoupoleōs 425,* the diptychs are presented in a mixed-up way and certainly in the opposite order obviously because of the influence of the proskomidē (living – dead) and are said only after "Among the first…." In the printed editions of the liturgical books, they were almost completely ignored. They are encountered only, as far as I know, in the printed edition by N. Prōtopsaltidēs, which the question references, and somewhat more

fully in the *Small Euchologion or Great Hagiasmatarion*, Eust. Skarpas/M. Saliveros, in Athens, unknown date, p. 405.[1155] Only in some editions did the conclusion of the diptychs remain after "Among the first...," as well as the traditional response of the people, "And of all men and women," which is even strangely considered as incorrect by the *Hierotelestikon* (Athens, 1948, p. 137),[1156] since its replacement is preferred with "Lord, have mercy" or "Remember, O Lord," "The choir. 'And of all men and women.' (or rather: 'Lord, have mercy' or 'Remember, O Lord')."[1157]

It remains for us to examine the form that the diaconal diptychs had. From the witnesses of the manuscripts, for those who had "fallen asleep," it appears that they were a list of names with specifications of their ecclesiastical status, approximately like the series of names of the saints in the Liturgy of Saint Iakōvos in its old Jerusalemite form, and as we find them in the Byzantine Liturgies in the manuscripts *Sinai 1020* and *Timiou Staurou Kōnstantinoupoleōs 425*, which we mentioned above. Thus, they are read almost as nowadays in the prothesis or in common memorial services. Again, the diptychs of the living would have been a similar list, at the end of which there were more general petitions, similar to those of the ektenēs or of "Let us pray..."[1158] of the Midnight Office and of Compline, and indeed like the petitions of the Litē, with which they have many common features and apparently reciprocal influences. This ending of the diptychs of the living presents a relative fluidity in the man-

1155. *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον ἢ Ἁγιασματάριον τὸ Μέγα: περιέχον ἀκολουθίας & εὐχὰς ἐκλεχθείσας ἐκ τοῦ Μεγάλου Εὐχολογίου ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιστασίᾳ Προτοσυγκέλλου Εὐσταθίου Α. Σκάρπα* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, n.d.), 405.

1156. Χρυσόστομος Φιλίππων καὶ Νεαπόλεως, *Ἱεροτελεστικόν* (Ἀθῆναι: Μιχαὴλ Σαλίβερος, 1948), 137.

1157. "'Ο χορός. 'Καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν.' (ἢ μᾶλλον: 'Κύριε, ἐλέησον' ἢ 'Μνήσθητι, Κύριε')." The emphasis in bold exists in the cited text. Note that in the edition of the *Συλλειτουργικὸν* of the Monastery of Simōnopetra, a "Κύριε, ἐλέησον" is added in between "'Εν πρώτοις μνήσθητι, Κύριε..." and the diaconal, "Καὶ ὧν ἕκαστος...." See *Συλλειτουργικὸν, ἤτοι Ἡ Τάξις Ἀναγνώστου καὶ Ψάλτου, 8th ed.* (Ἅγιον Ὄρος: Ἔκδοσις Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Σίμωνος Πέτρας, 2014), 155.

1158. "Εὐξώμεθα."

uscripts. In general terms, it contained a nominal commemoration of Orthodox patriarchs and of the local hierarch, of the priest who celebrated the Divine Liturgy, and general petitions for the peace for the world and for the churches, for the emperor, the army, the sick, captives, and the people who were present. In the manuscripts from the era of the Tourkokratia,[1159] we have a petition "for pious and Orthodox Christians," which replaces the old petitions for the emperors and the army, just as in the litany of peace, in the ektenēs, and so forth.[1160]

In contemporary practice, the conclusion of the diptychs of the dead prior to "Among the first..." has entirely disappeared. The end of the diptych of the living with commemoration of the patriarchs and so forth is said, according to tradition, after "Among the first..." only in synodal Liturgies and in official hierarchal concelebrations. When a deacon concelebrates in hierarchal Liturgies, he says the conclusion of the diptychs alone and the people answer with "And of all men and women." Many priests also are accustomed to say this when they serve alone without a deacon. I think it is correct for this to be said since, of the diaconal parts when a deacon does not serve, only those directed to the priest are not said ("Bless, master,"[1161] "Command, master,"[1162] and so forth). In this manner, the faithful are also exhorted to commemorate their beloved persons "in mind"[1163] at the appropriate time.

Let one more detail be finally noted. According to all the manuscripts, the conclusion of the diptychs of those who have "fallen asleep," which was said prior to "Among the first..." is the diaconal, "and those whom each has in mind, and of all men and women." The conclusion of the diptychs of the living, which were said after "Among the first..." is only "... and of all men and women." The present practice presupposes the later evolution, namely, the omis-

1159. The Ottoman rule of former Byzantine territory, particularly the area now comprising the modern country of Greece.

1160. For related discussions, see questions 189 (end of the answer), 212 (end of the answer), 225, 256, 417, and 588.

1161. "Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα."

1162. "Κέλευσον, δέσποτα."

1163. "κατὰ διάνοιαν."

sion of the conclusion of the diptychs of those who have "fallen asleep," and its conflation with the diptychs of the living.

Based on the manuscripts, we attempt below a restoration of the end of the diptychs of the living:[1164]

Προηγοῦνται τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πατριαρχῶν, ἀρχιεπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ τόπου.	The names of the patriarchs, archbishops, and the local hierarch precede.
Καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσκομίζοντος τὰ ἅγια δῶρα (ταῦτα) Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δεῖνος εὐλαβεστάτου (ἢ ἐντιμοτάτου) ἱερέως, τῶν συμπαρόντων ἱερέων, τοῦ τιμίου πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος.	And for the most pious [or most honorable] priest [name] who offers [these] holy gifts to the Lord our God, the priests present, the honorable presbyterate, the diaconate in Christ, and every priestly rank.
Καὶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, κράτους, νίκης καὶ διαμονῆς τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων (ἢ ἀρχόντων) δείνων.	And for the salvation, dominion, victory, and preservation of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors [or rulers] [names].
Καὶ ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ καταστάσεως (ἢ εὐσταθείας) τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου καὶ (πασῶν) τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ (ὀρθοδόξων) Ἐκκλησιῶν.	And for the peace and order [or stability] of the whole world and [all] the holy [Orthodox] churches of God.
Καὶ ὑπὲρ (ἀναρρύσεως καὶ) ἀπολυτρώσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ πάντων (τῶν) ἐν ἀσθενείαις κατακειμένων ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν καὶ ἐλέους Θεοῦ ἐπιδεομένων.	And for [deliverance and] redemption of our brethren in captivity and all Orthodox Christians lying in sickness and in need of God's mercy.
Καὶ ὑπὲρ εὐοδόσεως καὶ ἐνισχύσεως τοῦ φιλοχρίστου στρατοῦ καὶ σωτηρίας τοῦ περιεστῶτος λαοῦ καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν.	And for the success and strengthening of the Christ-loving army and salvation of the people here present and of all men and women.

1164. Compare the restoration of the diptychs of the living in Robert F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Vol. IV, The Diptychs*, OCA 238 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1991), 14.